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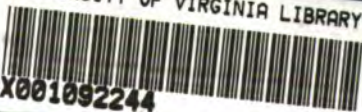
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PUBLICATIONS

—OF—

THE MISSISSIPPI  
"   
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITED BY *Franklin L. Riley*  
FRANKLIN L. RILEY  
*Secretary*

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VOL. III.

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OXFORD, MISSISSIPPI  
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY  
1900



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BY THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## PREFACE.

The generous and enlightened policy of the State Legislature has enabled the Historical Society to present this year's contributions to the history of Mississippi in a volume that is in every way superior to those which have heretofore appeared.

An examination of the table of contents of this volume will convey the gratifying intelligence that most of the fruitful lines of research which were begun by the contributors to the preceding volumes have been successfully continued and that several new lines of investigation have also been undertaken. Attention is directed to the wide range of subjects here treated,—social, genealogical, biographical, economic, educational, religious, literary, local, military, constitutional and aboriginal. The publication of this volume marks the beginning of two other phases of historical work,—the printing of original documents and of the results of interviews with pioneer settlers—which promises to be of inestimable value to historical investigators.

The editor acknowledges with pleasure the assistance he has received from many members of the Society who have generously responded to the numerous inquiries that his work has rendered necessary in the preparation of this volume for the press.

F. L. R.

University, Miss., Nov. 1, 1900.

## OFFICERS FOR 1900

### PRESIDENT:

GENERAL STEPHEN D. LEE, Columbus, Mississippi.

### VICE-PRESIDENTS:

PROFESSOR R. W. JONES, University of Mississippi.

JUDGE B. T. KIMBROUGH, Oxford, Mississippi.

### ARCHIVIST:

CHANCELLOR R. B. FULTON, University of Mississippi.

### SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

PROFESSOR FRANKLIN L. RILEY, University of Mississippi.

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the officers.)

PROFESSOR J. M. WHITE, Agricultural and Mechanical College  
of Mississippi.

BISHOP CHAS. B. GALLOWAY, Jackson, Mississippi.

PRESIDENT J. R. PRESTON, of Stanton College, Natchez,  
Mississippi.

PROFESSOR CHARLES HILLMAN BROUGH, Mississippi College,  
Clinton, Mississippi.

All persons who are interested in the work of the Society and desire to promote its objects are invited to become members.

There is no initiation fee. The only cost to members is, annual dues, \$2.00, or life dues, \$30.00. Members receive all publications of the Society free of charge.

Donations of relics, manuscripts, books and papers are solicited for the Museum and Archives of the Society.

Address all communications to the Secretary of the Mississippi Historical Society, University P. O., Mississippi.

## CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

### ART. I.—Name.

This Society shall be called The Mississippi Historical Society.

### ART. II.—Objects.

The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and, in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation and perpetuation of facts and events relating to the natural, aboriginal, civil, political, military, literary and ecclesiastical history of the Territory and State of Mississippi, and the country adjoining thereto.

### ART. III.—Membership.

The Society shall consist of Members, Life Members and Honorary Members.

(1) *Members.* Any person approved by the Executive Committee may become a member by paying two dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of two dollars.

(2) *Life Members.* Such benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of (\$30.00) thirty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, MSS., or other acceptable matter, shall be classed as Life Members and shall be enrolled as such by the Secretary upon the approval of the Executive Committee.

(3) *Honorary Members.* Upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Society may by a majority vote of the members in attendance at its Annual Public Meeting, elect to Honorary Membership, persons not residents of the State and eminent for their work in historical research.

## ART. IV.—Officers.

The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, an Archivist, a Secretary and Treasurer, and an Executive Committee.

The President and Vice-Presidents of the Society shall be elected biennially at a Public Meeting of the Society and shall perform the duties of their office until their successors may be chosen. In addition to the usual duties of a presiding officer, the President shall have power to call special meetings of the Executive Committee or of the Society by due notice given through the Secretary, and to fill vacancies on any committee.

The Archivist shall be appointed biennially by the Executive Committee. He shall superintend the classification and arrangement of such historical material as may come into the possession of the Society, and shall be responsible for the safe keeping of the same.

The Professor of History in the University of Mississippi shall be *ex officio* Secretary and Treasurer of the Society. He shall keep a full record of transactions of the Society and of all receipts and disbursements of funds belonging to the same. His accounts shall be audited annually by one or more members of the Executive Committee. He shall prepare the programs for the Annual Public Meetings and shall edit and distribute such publications of the Society as may be authorized by the Executive Committee from time to time.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers and of four other members elected annually by the Society. A majority of the Committee shall constitute a quorum. It shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of annual public meetings, and the publication of the papers of the Society.

## ART. V.—Dues.

Each member shall pay annually into the treasury of the Society, during his or her connection therewith, the sum of two dollars.

Life Members and Honorary Members shall be exempt from all dues.

ART. VI.—Publications.

The publications of the Society shall be issued from time to time at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

Each Member and each Life Member shall receive, free of charge, a copy of all publications of the Society that may be issued during his or her connection therewith.

ART. VII.—Amendments.

Amendments to this Constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Committee and approved by two-thirds of the entire membership of the Society, the vote being taken by letter ballot.



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## REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, FEBRUARY 1 AND 2, 1900.

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY, SECRETARY.

The annual meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society for 1900 was held in the city of Jackson, Feb. 1 and 2. The three sessions were presided over by Gen. Stephen D. Lee, President of the Society.

The first session convened in the Hall of Representatives at 8 p. m., Feb. 1. Prayer was offered by Pres. W. B. Murrah, of Millsaps College. The President of the Society briefly explained the aims and methods of work of the organization, directing attention to the following lines of historical activity in which it is at present engaged:

1. The collection and preservation of historical materials. The original purpose of the Society as stated in its charter was "to discover, collect, preserve and perpetuate facts and events relating to the natural, aboriginal, civil, political, literary and ecclesiastical history of the Territory and State of Mississippi, and the territory adjoining thereto." (Sec. I.)
2. The holding of an annual public meeting, at a time and place to be designated by the Executive Committee. It seems to be the policy of this Committee to hold the meetings in Jackson on alternate years, and at other times in the various places of historic interest in the different parts of the State.
3. The publication of the most worthy contributions made to our State history from time to time.
4. The fostering of affiliated local organizations for historical purposes. The plan devised for the accomplishment of this object is given under the head of "Suggestions to Local Historians," in the *Publications of the Society*, Vol. I.

Gen. Lee then read an interesting account of the "Siege of Vicksburg," (see p. 5) in which event he took an important part. In a few well-chosen remarks upon the valuable services which the women of the South are rendering to the cause of History, the President of the Society then introduced Mrs. Josie Frazee Cappleman, Historian of the Mississippi division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. She read a paper on the "Importance of the Local History of the Civil War" (see p. 107). Col. J. L. Power, Secretary of State, presented an en-

joyable paper on "The Black and Tan Convention" (see p. 73). "The Story of Blennerhassett,"<sup>1</sup> as recorded in the polished diction of Bishop Chas. B. Galloway was then read by its author.<sup>1</sup> The recent death of the late lamented Judge T. J. Wharton, whose name was on the program for an address on "What I Know of Public Men and Measures in Mississippi in the last Sixty-Two Years" deprived the Society of the pleasure of hearing this important discussion. Two other papers were read by title, viz: "The Constitutional Convention of 1817," by Thomas M. Owen, Esq., Secretary of the Alabama Historical Society, and "The Revolution of 1875," by Mr. Jas. W. Garner, Fellow in Political Science, Columbia University.<sup>2</sup>

The second session, which was perhaps the most enjoyable one of the meeting, was held on Friday afternoon (Feb. 2) in the Sunday-School rooms of the Baptist Church. After calling the Society to order the President announced the following committees: Nominating Committee, Prof. Dabney Lipscomb, Mrs. Helen D. Bell, and Dr. C. Alphonso Smith; Auditing Committee (to examine the Treasurer's accounts and report at the next annual meeting), Dr. R. W. Jones and Prof. A. L. Bondurant; Committee on Necrology, Pres. J. R. Preston, Mrs. Josie Frazee Cappleman and Miss Mary V. Duval.

An interesting account of "Plantation Life in Mississippi before the War" (see p. 85) was then read by Mr. Dunbar Rowland. Prof. J. M. White, of the Agricultural and Mechanical College presented a paper on the "Origin and Location of the A. and M. College of Mississippi" (see p. 341). Miss Mary V. Duval, of the Grenada Female College, read a paper entitled "The Making of a State" (see p. 155), which contained much important information on the early history of Mississippi. Dr. Charles Hillman Brough, of Mississippi College, and Dr. A. M. Muckenfuss, of Millsap College, then read extracts from their valuable contributions to the economic history of the State (see Dr. Brough's "History of Banking in Mississippi," p. 317 and Dr. Muckenfuss' "History of the Application of Science to Industry in Mississippi," p. 235). The remaining papers on the

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<sup>1</sup> This article will be found in the *American Illustrated Methodist Magazine* for December, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> These papers were not received by the editor in time for insertion in this volume of the *Publications*.

program for this session,—Dr. Franklin L. Riley's "Early Roads of Mississippi"<sup>a</sup> and Capt. L. Lake's "Some Facts Relating to the Early History of Grenada" (see p. 313) were read by title.

The last session of the meeting was held in the Hall of Representatives, beginning at 8 p. m., Feb. 2. At the recommendation of the committee on nominations the officers of the Society for the past year were unanimously reelected (see list on page 4). The Secretary then presented the following reports from the two local Societies, which are affiliated with the State Society:

The Maurepas Historical Society was organized by the students of the Ocean Springs High School, October 22, 1898. The names of the present officers are as follows: Miss Mamie Davis, President; Miss Lillie Clark, Vice-President; Miss Sadie Davis, Secretary and Treasurer; Miss Minnie Richardson, Librarian and Archivist; Mr. Q. D. Sauls, Corresponding Secretary and Director of the Society. There is a total enrollment of twenty-four members, including only those students who are especially interested in the study of Mississippi History and several teachers in the schools of Jackson county. It has been the custom to meet once a week in the library of the Ocean Springs High School and once or twice a month at some private residences. The titles of some of the papers read before the society are as follows: "The Geological Formation of Deer Island" (an island guarding the entrance to Biloxi Bay); "The French Chain of Settlements;" "E-kan-a-cha-ha" (the spring from which the town of Ocean Springs received its name). By varying the exercises and introducing some social features the interest so far has been well sustained.

The University Historical Society was organized, December 10, 1897. Prof. Franklin L. Riley is President of the organization. As a secretary is appointed to serve for only one meeting, the names of those who have served in this capacity are omitted in this report. The Society is composed of those students of the University of Mississippi who are interested in original research in Mississippi History. Monthly meetings are held at the call of the President. The following papers have been read before this Society: "Old Time Shooting-Matches in Mississippi," by Prof. Franklin L. Riley; "The Life and Literary Works of Sherwood Bonner," by Prof. A. L. Bondurant; "Location of the Boundary Line between Mississippi and Alabama," by Prof. Franklin L. Riley; "Irwin Russell," by Prof. Dabney Lipscomb; "The Manners and Customs of the Early Settlers of Newton County," by Mr. H. P. Todd; "The Life and Literary Work of Miss Winnie Davis," by Prof. C. C. Ferrell; "The Beginnings of Popular Government in Mississippi," by Prof. Franklin L. Riley; "The Life of Judge Richard Stockton," by Prof. T. H. Somerville.

After the presentation of these reports Dr. C. Alphonso Smith of the University of Louisiana delivered an instructive and eloquent address on "Southern Oratory before the War." The

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<sup>a</sup> An account of the "Location of the Boundaries of Mississippi" has been substituted for this paper.

speaker directed the attention of the audience to the fact that there are two conditions necessary for the making of orators. These are, first, freedom of institutions and secondly, the appearance of great vital questions. There were two periods in American history when these conditions were present. These were just before and after the Revolutionary War and the period from 1830 to 1850. The first of these was the period of constitution-making, the second the period of constitutional interpretation. In the first the South was represented by Henry Washington, Madison, and Randolph and in the second by Hayne, Calhoun, Prentiss, and Clay. The speaker then analyzed the oratory of each of these men, whose great achievements are matters of historical record. He said of Prentiss that he combined spontaneity with adaptability, the humorous with the pathetic, fervor with passion, and pitiless logic with brilliant imagery.

Prof. Dabney Lipscomb and Prof. A. L. Bondurant of the University of Mississippi then read papers which showed that their interest in the literary history of the State had not abated since the appearance of their valuable contributions that were printed in the former volumes of the Publications of the Society. Prof. Lipscomb's paper was entitled, "James D. Lynch, Poet Laureate of the World's Columbian Exposition" (see p. 127), and Prof. Bondurant's was entitled, "William C. Falkner, Novelist" (see p. 113).

Mr. H. S. Halbert showed that he had continued his valuable researches in his chosen field by the presentation of an interesting discussion of the "Funeral Customs of the Mississippi Choctaws" (see p. 353).

The following papers, which are here published in full, were then read by title:

"Bishop Otey as Provisional Bishop of Mississippi," by Rev. Arthur Howard Noll (see p. 139).

"Private Letters of Mrs. Humphreys, Written immediately before and after the Ejection of Her Husband from the Executive Mansion," by Mrs. Lizzie George Henderson (see p. 99).

"Richard Curtis in the Country of the Natchez," by Rev. Chas. H. Otken (see p. 147).

Col. J. L. Power then offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the State Historical Society are hereby most heartily tendered to General Stephen D. Lee for the zeal and ability displayed by him as President of the Society, and for his invaluable contribution to the history of the State and of the Civil War in his thrilling narrative of the Siege of Vicksburg; and he is most earnestly urged to prepare a narrative of the battles of Chickasaw Bayou and Champion Hills, or Baker's Creek.

*Resolved*, That the special thanks of the Society are due and are hereby tendered to Prof. F. L. Riley, Secretary, for his untiring zeal and his successful efforts in the organization and extension of the Society.

*Resolved*, That we appreciate the attendance of so many ladies and gentlemen during these sessions and the interest manifested; especially the presence of so many members of the Legislature; and we thank them in advance for the appropriation we are confident they will make to aid the Society in its work.

The Society then adjourned subject to the call of the Executive Committee.

#### APPENDIX TO THE REPORT.

The most important result produced by this meeting was the securing of an appropriation from the Legislature, which was in session at that time. On the morning before the meeting assembled, Gen. Stephen D. Lee, in behalf of the Executive Committee of the Society, presented to both houses of the Legislature the following memorial, which had received the unqualified endorsement of Gov. A. H. Longino, the newly-installed Chief Executive of the State:

*To the Senate and the House of Representatives of Mississippi:*

GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned members of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Historical Society, beg to present the following Memorial to your honorable body:

By the charter received from your honorable body, the Mississippi Historical Society was intrusted with the performance of certain duties, being authorized particularly "to discover, collect, preserve, and perpetuate facts and events relating to the natural, aboriginal, civil, political, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the Territory and State." In the active prosecution of these objects it has collected and now holds in safe keeping, many interesting and valuable documents and papers, illustrating the history of this Commonwealth, many of which documents and papers would have been lost or destroyed but for these labors.

This Society has also labored zealously to publish and to disseminate in printed form many of the important facts pertaining to our history, and is, in fact, the only organization in the State that has expended large amounts of money in the promotion of this patriotic work. Many of the most scholarly men and women throughout this State and in adjoining States have been enlisted in writing our history and many important results have been attained since the organization of this Society. It has published several valuable papers, representing the finished products of historical research and has, in this way, made some permanent contributions to the history of the State. The Society still has in its possession several valuable manuscripts, the publication of

which has been delayed for lack of funds. Other important papers have been offered for publication but could not be accepted for the same reason.

Unfortunate as may be this result accruing from the lack of funds for the promotion of the work undertaken by the Society, there is another which is doubtless more far-reaching in its effects. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Society to collect the sources of our history, they are still widely scattered, lying useless and unappreciated in many public and private libraries and among the public documents in this and in other States. The information which these documents contain is invaluable, since they throw important light upon every phase of our history. Casual inquiry by the Secretary of the Society has brought under his observation, within the last few months, the following important manuscripts that should be within the reach of every investigator in the periods of State history to which they pertain: Papers relating to Mississippi when under the government of West Florida (one volume); The Correspondence of Winthrop Sargent while Governor of Mississippi Territory (one large volume); Proceedings of the Executive Council and Legislature of the Mississippi Territory (two volumes, covering the period from January 16, 1809, to December 26, 1816); Private Journal of William Dunbar (covering the period of Territorial history from 1773 to 1809); also the Private Journals of Anthony Hutchins, Mrs. Eggleston, and Judge Niles; A Diary of Bishop Otey (relating to Mississippi history in the 30's); Hilgard's History of the Geological Surveys in Mississippi; Histories of Winston, Leake, and Chickasaw Counties (parts of which are of more than local importance); A Collection of Important Documents relating to the Constitutional Convention of 1890, made by Hon. E. Mayes (probably the only one in existence); several diaries and muster-rolls of soldiers from Mississippi in the various wars in which our country has been engaged. Several valuable manuscript maps have also been found, which illustrate accurately the development of the Territory and State.

Besides these valuable sources, many others may be found, not only in this but in other States. The expense necessary for the accomplishment of the great work of locating, copying, and printing these valuable manuscripts is too great to be borne by the Society, which is the only body in the State to which this special function has been granted. In fact, inquiry has shown that in no one of the many States where this work has been done was it accomplished without legislative aid.

The following is a correct list of expenses incurred by seven different States, for collecting, preserving and perpetuating the facts pertaining to their respective histories:

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Assistance given last year.</i>	<i>Aggregate.</i>
Wisconsin, .....	About \$15,000.00.	About \$850,000.00.
New York, .....	About 7,550.00.	About \$72,750.00.
Massachusetts, .....	Difficult to estimate.	About \$200,000.00.
Maryland, .....	\$1,000.00.	\$16,000.00.
South Carolina, .....	.....	\$6,500.00.
Texas, .....	\$150.00.	\$2,650.00.
Alabama, .....	\$750.00.	Act passed last winter.

We base our appeal for aid from your honorable body upon the following considerations:

I. The Society cannot defray the expenses incident to this great work. Up to this time the funds of the Society have been raised almost entirely from its members, each of whom pays an annual fee of two dollars. This has not been sufficient, however, to meet the ex-

penses of the small publications that have been issued. It is easy to see that if this most important work is to continue and maintain reasonable proportions, public aid must be given. It would be assuredly unreasonable to expect a few public-spirited citizens to do all of this work and to pay besides the expenses of issuing the necessary publications, even if they could do so. This is a public work and should command the interest of every citizen who loves his State and has a pride in its history.

II. Thorough and systematic work in the history of the State cannot be done until we publish, not only the finished products of research, but the sources of our history. Publications of the first kind awaken interest, direct research, and prevent the duplication of effort; those of the second kind furnish investigators with the materials from which history is made, and enable them to write exhaustively and accurately on subjects that are of great importance to the State. The history of the New England States has been thoroughly worked, largely because their sources have been made available to investigators throughout the country. Massachusetts has published her historical records in several volumes, at an expense of \$3,000.00 for each; Connecticut, in fifteen volumes; New Hampshire, in seventeen volumes; and Rhode Island, in nine volumes.

III. The accomplishment of this work will become more difficult year by year, if postponed. Many valuable documents are being lost or destroyed from time to time, without any hope of recovery.

IV. The organization of the Society insures the proper use of such an appropriation as may be made. It cannot become a source of emolument to its members, since its charter explicitly states that "no dividends shall ever be declared," and since its officers serve without compensation. Furthermore, it is not made to subserve the private ends or the personal ambitions of any individual. On the contrary, it embraces in its membership a large majority of the most active and successful investigators in the field of Mississippi history.

V. The importance of our history demands that this work be done without delay. National history is largely based upon State history. If we would have the world to appreciate the important and honorable part our State has contributed to the history of our common country, this work must be done without delay. The history of the West and the Southwest is being written very rapidly, and those States which neglect their history now will doubtless find cause for complaint over the verdict of the general historian. One of the largest and most enterprising publishing houses in the South is perfecting arrangements for issuing a History of the United States, in ten large volumes, which will be the first great critical history of our country to be written by Southern scholars. Within the last year, the Legislature of Alabama, by a vote of 72 to 3 in the House, made an appropriation for historical purposes. For several years Tennessee has done likewise.

VI. Other organizations join us in asking for an appropriation. The Confederate Veterans' Association, realizing the magnitude and the importance of the work that lies before Southern historians, has, for several years, urged that the Legislatures of the Southern States make liberal appropriations for the promotion of historical work. Two years ago, the State Teachers' Association of Mississippi passed a resolution requesting the Legislature of this State to appropriate \$2,000.00 to the State Historical Society to enable it to carry out the patriotic purposes for which it was organized.

In view of these facts, the undersigned members of the Executive Committee of the State Historical Society, earnestly urge the passage of the following Act, or its equivalent:



## AN ACT

To authorize the appointment of a History Commission, to regulate the powers and duties thereof and to make an appropriation to aid the Mississippi Historical Society in printing its Publications.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi,* That the President of the Mississippi Historical Society is hereby directed and empowered to appoint five persons from the present active membership of said society, who shall constitute a Mississippi History Commission, whose duty it shall be, under such rules, regulations, and plan of procedure as it may adopt and without expense to the State for their labor, to make a full, detailed, and exhaustive examination of all the sources and materials, manuscript, documentary, and record of the history of Mississippi from the earliest times, whether in the State or elsewhere, including the records of Mississippi troops in all wars in which they have participated, and also of the location and present condition of battlefields, historic houses, and buildings; and other places and things of historic interest and importance in the State, and the said Commission shall embody the results of the said examination in a detailed report to the next ensuing session of the Legislature, with an account of the then condition of historical work in the State and with such recommendations as may be desirable.

SECTION 2. *Be it further enacted,* That there be and the same is hereby appropriated from any moneys in the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$1,000.00 annually for 1900 and 1901, to aid the Mississippi Historical Society in the printing of its publications, including the report of the History Commission as herein provided, and the Auditor is hereby authorized and directed to draw his warrant for said sum on application of the Treasurer of said Society, when approved by the Governor of the State.

STEPHEN D. LEE,  
R. W. JONES,  
B. T. KIMBROUGH,  
R. B. FULTON,  
FRANKLIN L. RILEY,  
CHAS. H. BROUGH,  
J. M. WHITE,  
CHAS. B. GALLOWAY,  
J. R. PRESTON,  
*Executive Committee.*

The bill was promptly passed by the Legislature, the vote in the Lower House being unanimous.

It is believed that the importance of the work undertaken by the Commission created by the Act given above will justify the insertion of the following address on this subject:

*To the Public:*

The Legislature of Mississippi, by an act approved March 2d, 1900, authorized the appointment of a Historical Commission of five members, "whose duty it shall be, under such rules, regulations, and plan of procedure as it may adopt, and without expense to the State for their labor, to make a full, detailed, and exhaustive examination of all sources and materials, manuscript, documentary, and record, of the history of Mississippi, from the earliest times, whether in the State or elsewhere." This includes "the records of Mississippi troops in all wars in which they have participated, and also of the location and present condition of battlefields, historic houses and buildings, and other places and things of historic interest and importance in the State."

Proceedings of Third Annual Meeting.—*Riley.*

The act also provides that the results of these investigations shall be embodied in a "detailed report to the next session of the Legislature with an account of the then condition of historical work in the State."

This act, so important to the best interests of Mississippi, was the result of a widespread sentiment on the part of the people of the State in favor of preserving and perpetuating the sources of their history, many of which are being lost without any hope of recovery. The report is intended to convey fully and in detail, *WHAT* historical materials are still in existence and *WHERE* they may be found, with such other information about their condition, accessibility, subject matter, etc., as will form a basis for further legislative action on the subject.

Under the authority of this act I have appointed the following gentlemen as commissioners to discharge this arduous "labor of love" for the State: Dr. Franklin L. Riley, University of Mississippi, Chairman; Col. J. L. Power, Jackson, Mississippi; Bishop Chas. B. Galloway, Jackson, Mississippi; Hon. Gerard C. Brandon, Natchez, Mississippi; and Hon. P. K. Mayers, Pascagoula, Mississippi. [Capt. Mayers subsequently resigned and was succeeded by Prof. J. M. White, of the Agricultural and Mechanical College.—*ED.*]

These gentlemen have entered upon the discharge of their duties with a full sense of the importance as well as the patriotic character of the task assigned to them. In order to give efficiency to their efforts, I now appeal with confidence to the public press and to Mississippians and investigators everywhere for aid and coöperation in this great work. The diligence and zeal of the commissioners will be of little avail in the discharge of their laborious duties, unless they meet with prompt assistance from those who have information bearing upon the history of the State.

There are individuals in every part of Mississippi and in other States who have knowledge of facts that would be acceptable in this connection. There are thousands of half-faded manuscripts and mutilated publications—old letters, papers, diaries, muster rolls, journals, notes, maps, books, etc.—that would throw new light upon many of the dark places in our history and give a coloring to important facts which have faded out of the public mind. In the cellars, garrets, or old trunks in the homes of participants or their descendants in the various wars in which the people of Mississippi have taken part, there still remain, half forgotten, perhaps, many valuable papers and relics of these struggles. The descendants of the early settlers of the State will, doubtless, find in some obscure corner of the old homestead many valuable historical materials that will amply reward their research. To all such I appeal with an earnestness begotten of the pressing needs of this great work undertaken by the Mississippi Historical Commission. By all means institute a close search without delay and report results to any member of the Commission, giving the location, extent, and present ownership of all such materials of which you may have any knowledge, or which may come within the range of your inquiry. If the owners will consent to give them to the State Historical Society to be placed in its archives for preservation and for the use of future investigators, please notify the chairman of the Commission of the same. I also bespeak for the Commission the aid and coöperation of the press of Mississippi, which is ever ready to respond to all efforts to advance the honor and glory of the State.

Mississippi, in common with the other Southern States, is entering upon a great historical renaissance and the people of the South are beginning to realize as never before that "there is nothing wrong with our history, but in the writing of it." The purpose of the State Legislature and of the Historical Society in the creation and appointment of

this Commission is to provide the most effective means for the correction of this defect.

Correspondence should be directed to the Chairman or to any member of the Commission.

With a sincere desire and a confident hope that this great work will redound to the honor of Mississippi, I am,

Very respectfully,

STEPHEN D. LEE,  
*President of The Mississippi Historical Society.*

THE CAMPAIGN OF VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, IN  
1863—FROM APRIL 15 TO AND INCLUDING THE  
BATTLE OF CHAMPION HILLS, OR BAKER'S  
CREEK, MAY 16, 1863.

BY STEPHEN D. LEE.<sup>1</sup>

The Confederate forces held the important fortified strongholds of Vicksburg, Miss., and Port Hudson, La., on the Mississippi river, which prevented the free navigation of the river, and virtually kept united the portions of the Confederacy on the east and west sides of the great river. The object of the Union forces, under Gen. U. S. Grant, was to capture these strongholds, and open the river to navigation, and sever the Confederacy in twain. The campaign of 1863, was really a continuation and a result of the campaign of 1862 by Gen. Grant. In this latter campaign he had an army of about 30,000 in the vicinity of Oxford, in North Mississippi, which confronted the Confederate army under Gen. J. C. Pemberton, at Grenada, Miss. The object of this campaign was to hold the Confederate army in its front, to force it into battle, or follow it towards Vicksburg if necessary, while another Union army under Gen. W. T. Sherman, took passage in transports at Memphis, Tenn.,

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<sup>1</sup> General Stephen D. Lee is a descendant of distinguished Revolutionary ancestors. His great-grandfather, William Lee, was one of the forty prominent citizens of Charleston, who became special objects of British vengeance after the capture of that city by the enemy in the Revolutionary War. General Lee's grandfather, Judge Thomas Lee, was Federal Judge in South Carolina during the Nullification difficulties, and was a strong Union man.

General Lee was born in Charleston in 1833. After his graduation from the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1854, he served in the Fourth Artillery of the U. S. Army. When his native State seceded from the Union he resigned his position in the Federal army and became a captain of South Carolina volunteers. He was one of the two officers sent by Gen. Beauregard to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter and upon the refusal of this demand, he ordered the nearest battery to fire upon the fort. He served as captain of a battery in the Hampton Legion until Nov., 1861, when he was made major of artillery. In the spring of the following year he was promoted to the position of lieutenant-colonel. After gallant and meritorious service at Seven Pines and in the Seven Days around Richmond he was given command of the Fourth Virginia Cavalry. At the opening of the campaign against Pope, he was put in command of a battalion of thirty-five

and made a dash down the river, and attempted to capture Vicksburg, while the Confederate army, which really constituted the garrison of Vicksburg, was kept confronted by Gen. Grant's army.

This campaign in December, 1862, signally failed, although remarkably well planned. The Confederate cavalry, under Gen. N. B. Forrest, broke up the lines of communication in West Tennessee, destroying the railroads, while another body of Confederate cavalry, under Gen. Earl Van Dorn, raided in the rear of Grant's army at Oxford, Miss., and captured the great depôt of supplies at Holly Springs, Miss. These two raids compelled Gen. Grant to fall back to Memphis, Tenn., to supply his army.

The expedition of 30,000 men and 60 guns, under Gen. Sherman, had however left Memphis, before it could be stopped. After these disasters had overtaken the railroads and supplies of Gen. Grant's army in North Mississippi, Gen. Sherman's expedition also failed. He landed on the Yazoo river, Christmas day, 1862, and attempted to seize the hills in the rear of Vicksburg. He was defeated at Chickasaw Bayou, near Vicksburg,

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guns, and given the rank of colonel of artillery. He rendered conspicuous service at Second Manassas and at Sharpsburg. He was then promoted to the rank of brigadier-general and stationed at Vicksburg. At Chickasaw Bayou he, with only 2,500 men, inflicted a bloody defeat upon Gen. Sherman's army of 30,000. He also served with distinction in the battle of Baker's Creek. Shortly after his capture at the fall of Vicksburg, he was exchanged, made major-general, and put in command of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana, and was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. He took part in many of the minor engagements which followed and in which the Confederates were generally successful. After the battle at Tupelo, he was ordered to Atlanta, Ga., and given command of Hood's corps of infantry, Hood having relieved Johnston in command of the Army of Tennessee. Gen. Lee then took part in the battle on the left of Atlanta and in the battle of Jonesboro, south of Atlanta. He took part in the ill-fated Tennessee campaign, commanding the rear guard of the Confederate forces in the retreat from Nashville, and thus helping to save the remnant of Hood's army. He surrendered with Gen. Johnston's army.

In February, 1865, Gen. Lee married Regina Harrison, of Columbus, Miss., making his home at that place. He has served in the State Senate and in the Constitutional Convention of 1890. In 1880, he was made President of the A. and M. College, of Mississippi, which position he filled with signal ability until 1899, when he resigned to become a member of the Vicksburg National Park Commission.

For more detailed sketches of his life see *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. V, and the *American Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, Vol. XI.—EDITOR.

by a Confederate force under Gen. Stephen D. Lee, and compelled to reëmbark his army.

Gen. Grant, upon arriving at Memphis about the last of December, 1862, decided to follow Gen. Sherman down the Mississippi river, and unite a portion of his army with that of Gen. Sherman. He however had troops enough at his disposal to leave 32,654 men for duty in Memphis and including Memphis to Corinth, Miss., along the Memphis and Charleston railroad, extending in a line along the entire northern portion of the State of Mississippi.

To comprehend the situation thoroughly, it is necessary to review briefly the events leading to the successful campaign of the Union army. During the months of January, February, March and a part of April, 1863, Gen. Grant, from the Louisiana side of the river, and in connection with Admiral Porter's fleet of gun-boats, and the large number of transports at his disposal, attempted to reach the bluffs or high lands of the Yazoo river north of Vicksburg.

He did this by cutting the levees at Yazoo Pass, on the Mississippi side of the river, nearly opposite Helena, Arkansas, and forcing his gun-boats and transports laden with troops, into the Coldwater and the Tallahatchee rivers, to get into the Yazoo river. He also attempted a similar movement through Steel's Bayou into Deer Creek, in trying to reach the Sunflower river and through it, the Yazoo river above Snyder's Bluff. He also attempted to reach the Mississippi river south of Vicksburg, from Lake Providence, La., through the bayous into Red river, and then up the Mississippi river to Vicksburg. The canal on the Louisiana side was also dug to enable the fleet and army to pass by Vicksburg to the south of the city.

These attempts were energetically made, in face of most adverse circumstances for several months, and Gen. Grant was foiled in all of them on the Mississippi side, by the energy and sagacity of Gen. Pemberton. This continuous and persistent effort caused Gen. Pemberton to widely separate his troops to oppose and meet these attacks, from Greenwood, Miss., on the Yazoo river, to Port Hudson, La., a distance of over three hundred miles, along the Mississippi river front, as also to watch the large force along the Memphis and Charleston railroad.

Gen. Grant, after all these failures, then conceived the plan

to reach the high lands to the south of Vicksburg. About the 15th of April, 1863, he concentrated his army at Young's Point, La., moving two corps (McClermand's and McPherson's) on the Louisiana side, to the south of Vicksburg, and opposite Bruinsburg, Miss., below Grand Gulf (at the mouth of the Big Black river). He kept Sherman's corps at Young's Point (15,000 men), to demonstrate up the Yazoo, and again threaten Gen. Pemberton's right flank, as he had done for several months, in an attempt to gain the bluffs north of the city.

In arranging for the crossing of his army, Gen. Grant was most ably supported by Admiral Porter, who on the night of April 16th, ran by the batteries of Vicksburg with eight gunboats, three transports and barges filled with coal and provisions. Singular enough, only one of the transports was sunk in the running of the batteries. All of the vessels were more or less damaged, but were soon repaired.

On the night of April 23d, five transports, a gun-boat and twelve barges ran the batteries again. Only one transport and four barges were sunk. These two bold efforts demonstrated that the batteries of Vicksburg did not stop the passage of boats down the river.

Gen. Grant now had enough boats to cross his army, and begin his bold and aggressive campaign to the south of Vicksburg. He at once (April 30, 1863) crossed the two corps of McClermand and McPherson, numbering about 30,244 men present for duty. On the same day, Gen. Sherman with a division of his corps went up the Yazoo river with a fleet of gunboats and attacked the fortified position of Snyder's Bluff, on the Yazoo river (twelve miles north of Vicksburg). Sherman was several days making this demonstration. Gen. Grant also on April 17th, to further mislead Gen. Pemberton, had caused Gen. Grierson to make his raid through Mississippi from La Grange, Tenn., to Baton Rouge, La., breaking the railroads in Mississippi. Expeditions at the same time (April 17th) independent of Grierson's command, were started from Memphis and La Grange, Tenn., and Corinth, Miss., into Mississippi, from the Memphis and Charleston railroad, calling for troops to meet these several raids in the northern part of Gen. Pemberton's department, and this, before Gen. Grant crossed the river on the 30th day of April.

It would be well now to examine the relative resources and number of troops at the disposal of Generals Grant and Pemberton, at this critical period in the beginning of this great campaign, so successful to the Federal army, and so disastrous to the Confederate arms and cause. The returns of the two armies in the *Rebellion Record* show that Gen. Grant had under his command in his department, including Mississippi, West Tennessee and West Kentucky, an average per month, from January to June 30th (six months inclusive), of about 104,233 men present for duty. With this large force he was enabled to take into the field a movable army present for duty, of three corps, numbering about 53,000 men, besides leaving ample garrisons at Memphis, La Grange, and Jackson, Tenn., at Columbus, Ky., and at Corinth, Miss.

Coöperating with Gen. Grant's army was the powerful Mississippi flotilla, commanded by Rear Admiral David D. Porter. It was composed of gun-boats, Eads' iron-clads, later iron-clads, Rodger's gun-boats, Ellet rams, prizes, tin-clads, various vessels, mortar boats, auxiliary boats, all classed under the head "Union vessels in the Vicksburg campaign," as found on page 581, "*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*," Vol. III, The Century Co., N. Y. In this formidable flotilla eighty-one vessels are given by name, with their guns, numbering about 275. This does not include Farragut's fleet, which was several times near Vicksburg and for a long time near the mouth of the Red river. This fleet carried about 150 guns, but the "Hartford" and "Albatross," during Grant's campaign, were nearly all the time above Port Hudson. This great fleet in its importance Gen. Grant placed equal to the great army which he commanded. He also says, "without its assistance the campaign could not have been successfully made with twice the number engaged. It could not have been made at all, in the way that it was, with any number of men without such assistance."

It should be borne in mind also, that Port Hudson, La., one of the Confederate strongholds on the Mississippi river, while in Gen. Pemberton's Geographical Department, was in the Department of Gen. Banks of the Union army, and he brought to the siege of Port Hudson, a Union army of 31,000 men to assist Gen. Grant in his campaign, and these enclosed about 7,000 men of Pemberton's force.



The same official returns show that Gen. Pemberton had at his disposal in the four months from January to April 30th, inclusive, an average per month of 45,763 men for duty.<sup>1</sup> Gen. Pemberton's department, like Gen. Grant's, was divided into districts and he also had to maintain garrisons at Port Hudson, La.; Grand Gulf, Vicksburg and Snyder's Bluff, and had to keep a force in front of the 32,654 men along the M. and C. R. R., so that with his entire force for duty, he could not even by endangering the garrison points by small commands, have a movable army of more than twenty thousand men, with which to confront Gen. Grant's army of say 47,284 men, if he could get them together.

The splendid division of cavalry with which Gen. Van Dorn was mainly instrumental in defeating Gen. Grant's campaign in North Mississippi in December, 1862, by destroying his depot of supplies at Holly Springs, and which confronted the Union troops along the M. and C. Railroad, had been ordered early in February, 1863, from Mississippi to Tennessee, to report to Gen. Bragg, and Gen. Pemberton was short of cavalry to meet such a movement as Grant was inaugurating, or prevent raids like Gen. Grierson's. Pemberton had not more than 2,500 cavalry stationed across the State, facing the M. and C. R. R., and about 1,000 in central and southwestern portion of Mississippi. When Gen. Grant crossed the river, Gen. Pemberton had recently drawn on the garrison at Port Hudson and sent from his department reinforcements to Gen. Bragg in Tennessee, and other troops were enroute for the same destination as Gen. Bragg was pressed. These troops were recalled, but the roads had been broken between Jackson and Meridian, Miss., by Gen. Grierson, preventing their speedy return, as also preventing reinforcements joining Pemberton promptly.

It would seem that this is an appropriate time to examine the troops under Gens. Grant and Pemberton and Johnston for the entire campaign, as both Grant and Pemberton called for reinforcements, as soon as Gen. Grant crossed to the eastern bank of the Mississippi river. In dealing with numbers, I always try to follow the official return—and *take those present for*

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<sup>1</sup>The last return of Gen. Pemberton was for March, but a careful examination will show he had about the same force for April he had for March.

*duty as the number*—I deem a careful analysis necessary because so many errors have crept into history from authoritative sources; for instance, in the *Personal Memoirs* of Gen. U. S. Grant appears the following statement made soon after the battle of Port Gibson: "Pemberton was now on my left flank, with as I supposed about 18,000 men; in fact as I learned afterwards with nearly 50,000 men." Pemberton did have about 18,000 men on Grant's left as he supposed, and not "nearly 50,000 men" as stated by so high an authority as Grant himself. The returns clearly show this and were accessible when the statement was written. Within the last few years, Col. John W. Emerson, in his account of this campaign, says: "Pemberton's strength, March 31st, was 82,000 men—61,000 of whom were effective and present for duty." On the contrary, this March return showed present for duty 48,829 men, and not 61,000 as stated by Col. Emerson, and including the necessary garrisons, which could not be removed.

As soon as Gen. Grant crossed the river (April 30th) and Pemberton realized what it meant, he recalled the troops he had sent to Tennessee in April. They all came back, but as they were included in his March return, they did not add a man to the number that return called for when made. He, however, called for reinforcements and some were sent to him, but never reached him but were received by Gen. Johnston, as also were the troops he had sent to Gen. Bragg from his department.

On June 25, 1863, just nine days before the fall of Vicksburg, we find a return of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's army at Jackson, containing all reinforcements, and such troops as were included in Pemberton's return of March 31, 1863, and which were not included in the lines at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. The return shows the four divisions of Breckenridge, French, Loring and Walker, and the cavalry divisions of W. H. Jackson, also troops in the camp of direction, and some reserve artillery, making a total of 31,226 men present for duty. An analysis of this return shows that Gen. Johnston had in his army some of the troops included in Pemberton's March return, viz.: Loring's division, 6,451 men present for duty. Returns of June 10th and May 30th give strength of Gregg's brigade at 2,064 men and Maxey's at 2,622 men present for duty. These brigades were drawn from Port Hudson May 7th by Gen. Pemberton, but

never joined him, owing to Grant's rapid campaign. So it appeared that 11,137 men of Johnston's army were troops originally in Pemberton's March return. Deducting this force (11,137 men) from the total of the return of Johnston's army (June 25, 1863, viz., 31,226 men) it leaves, 20,089 men as the total number of reinforcements sent by the Confederate government to Mississippi to relieve Vicksburg. Gen. Grant at the same time was reinforced by part of the 9th Corps (7,452 men). From the 16th Corps in his department along the M. and C. R. R., came the divisions of Smith, Lauman and Kimball, numbering 15,959, also Heron's division, 4,011 men, making a total of 27,411 men, and with this help, he still had on the northern border of Mississippi from Memphis to Corinth 24,621 men. Now as Pemberton's force besieged at Port Hudson was also in Pemberton's March return (7,000 men), and included in Pemberton's effective force, it is fair to add to Gen. Grant's army operating against Pemberton's army, Gen. Banks' army which was assisting his in besieging Port Hudson, viz: 31,000 men, in addition to these forces, which Gen. Grant drew from the line of the Memphis and Charleston R. R., to reinforce his army in the field, 15,959 men. He also deemed it important to his successful campaign to cause repeated raids into Mississippi and still leave on this road June 30, 1863, 24,621 men, so this force should also be counted in Gen. Grant's campaign against Pemberton and Johnston. So a fair estimate of Gen. Grant's army and resources, operating against Generals Pemberton and Johnston in opening the Mississippi river and capturing Vicksburg and Port Hudson, may be stated as follows, from the beginning to the end, viz:

Grant's movable army, June 30th, .....	75,000
His force on the M. and C. R. R. (average per month),..	28,652
Bank's army at Port Hudson, besieging 7,000 men of	
Pemberton's army, .....	31,000

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Total, ..... 134,652  
 or 134,652 men to accomplish the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. To this must be added Porter's gun-boat fleet, equivalent in importance and result, to the great army, as stated by Gen. Grant himself, whereas the armies of Pemberton and Johnston from beginning to end all told, numbered 65,852 men.

As stated, Gen. Grant crossed the Mississippi river during the day of April 30th, and the night of April 30th and May 1st, 1863, with the corps of McClernand and McPherson. He at once pressed his army to the bluffs, and on the road towards Port Gibson (12 miles distant) met and encountered the Confederates four miles from that town.

Gen. Bowen had been sent by Gen. Pemberton sometime previous to this date to construct some batteries and mount some guns at Grand Gulf, at the mouth of the Big Black river (twenty-eight miles from Vicksburg), in case that Grant's canal proved a success opposite Vicksburg. On April 29th Admiral Porter attacked the batteries at Grand Gulf with eight gunboats, and failed to silence them, and during the night of the 29th he also ran by the batteries down the river. Bowen at once made his arrangements to resist the landing of the enemy below Grand Gulf. Leaving a part of his command to protect the batteries, he moved his troops to cover the two roads leading from Bruinsburg to Port Gibson, and reported the crossing of the enemy at Bruinsburg. These troops numbering, all told, 5,164 men and 13 pieces of artillery, met Gen. Grant's advance four miles from Port Gibson, on the morning of May 1st, before daylight. The reinforcements which got up during the battle came too late, and in too small numbers to avail much. They consisted of the brigades of Gen. Tracy (Stephenson's division) and Baldwin (Smith's division). They came up broken down and jaded. Bowen held the enemy in check during the entire day, and retired about sun down, with a loss of four pieces of artillery and 787 men, and entailing a loss on the enemy of 875 men. He resisted on two lines of battle during the day, as he was gradually forced back by two corps, at least five divisions of which were engaged. The Confederate troops engaged were part of Green's Missouri brigade with the Sixth Mississippi, and a section of Hudson's battery, 775 men, Tracey's brigade and (Joseph W.) Anderson's (Virginia) battery, 1,516 men; Baldwin's brigade, 1,614 men; part of Cockrell's brigade with Guibor's and a section of Laude's battery, 1,256 men. Total of Bowen's forces engaged, 5,164 men.

Bowen retreated with his main force northward and crossed Bayou Pierre. Baldwin's brigade went through Port Gibson, and across both forks of Bayou Pierre, and joined Brown be-

tween the North fork and Big Black river. Bowen during the night of May 2d evacuated Grand Gulf, and with Gen. Loring, who came up in advance of his troops, crossed over the Big Black to the Vicksburg side of the river, the Union army following the Confederate troops to Big Black river.

Gen. Grant having successfully crossed the Mississippi river and having driven the small force under Bowen north of Big Black, he established his base of supplies at Grand Gulf, at the mouth of Big Black river. He remained inactive near Hankinson's Ferry, until about the 8th of May, excepting that he pressed his troops towards the railroad from Vicksburg to Jackson, threatening a crossing at all the ferries. He also hurried up his Third Corps, under Gen. Sherman, which arrived in time to join in the movement toward Jackson, Miss.

These were active days both for Grant and Pemberton, the one intently and hastily preparing on a bold and aggressive campaign, the other, in awakening to his great danger, and seeing the immediate necessity for a concentration of troops to meet a compact army of about 41,367 men immediately in his vicinity.

The Confederacy was at all times pressed by great odds and in about the same proportion as Gen. Grant's army compared with Gen. Pemberton's. To draw the reinforcements from any one of the armies of the Confederacy, to reinforce any other army, was at all times a difficult problem, as each threatened point or army appeared always to be the one of most urgency at any time. The withdrawal and movement of troops over poorly equipped railroads was a difficult matter. Gen. Pemberton never fully comprehended Gen. Grant's campaign, till Bowen was defeated at Port Gibson. Then he began with great activity and skill to concentrate his army for the defense of Vicksburg, and to organize his movable army to meet Gen. Grant. He ordered Loring's division from Yazoo City and Jackson, Miss., to Vicksburg. He ordered Gardner to bring 5,000 men from Port Hudson to Jackson (May 7th). He began to call back the troops he had sent to Gen. Bragg, and to call also on President Davis for reinforcements to hold the Mississippi river. He displayed great skill and activity, but his troops were all scattered and it took time to meet the new conditions; he could not even get the Port Hudson troops to Vicksburg,

while Gen. Grant had carefully arranged for his campaign, and was ready to spring forward with a compact army at his command, before his antagonist could concentrate an army to oppose him.

Pemberton was unfortunately situated, as he received conflicting telegrams from President Davis and Gen. J. E. Johnston, neither coinciding with his own views. President Davis' idea was to hold Vicksburg at all hazards, and not get far from it. He telegraphed Pemberton "to hold Vicksburg at all hazards and if besieged he would be relieved." Johnston's idea was the reverse, but to manoeuvre so as to get reinforcements and to concentrate and beat Grant. Pemberton's idea as given by Johnston (May 12th) was to await attack near Edwards depot on the railroad and not get so far from the city as to make it possible for Grant's army to get between him and the city. He believed at first also, that Grant would cross the Big Black river and at once invest the city.

He concentrated his movable army first on the west of the river (Big Black), and later, as Grant's plan developed, he moved it to Edwards depot, some twenty miles from Vicksburg towards Jackson, where it remained till mid-day on the 15th of May.

He received Johnston's first dispatch, written on the 13th, on the 14th of May, "to move towards Clinton and attack Grant's rear." He said he would do so, but on arriving at Edwards, he felt that he was too weak to go towards Clinton. He called a council of general officers, a majority of whom advised he should obey Johnston's order. He, however, decided instead of moving east towards Clinton as ordered, to move south from Edwards and attack a body of Federal troops, said to be at Dillon, on Grant's supposed line of communication with the Mississippi river.

Gen. Grant having been reinforced at Hankinson's Ferry by Gen. Sherman with two divisions, decided, instead of crossing Big Black river and moving directly on Vicksburg, that he would only threaten to make this movement, but would in fact move directly towards Jackson, Miss., and disperse any reinforcements that might be coming to Pemberton's relief. He executed this plan in a masterly manner, moving his three corps (41,369 men) on parallel roads, about eight miles

south of the railroad, with his right reaching to Raymond (McPherson's corps), and his left (McClermand's) still threatening Big Black and the railroad, Sherman's corps moving between McClermand and McPherson. He then, as the movement advanced, adroitly drew McClermand's corps from the Big Black and the railroad, and from Pemberton's front, in the direction of Raymond.

McPherson first met resistance five miles from Raymond, when he encountered Gregg's brigade of 2,500 men. He engaged him at once with Logan's division and a part of Crocker's. Gregg, as Bowen had done at Port Gibson, made a stubborn fight before he was driven, entailing a loss to the Federal army of 442 men, and sustaining himself a loss of 514 men.

Gregg retreated through Raymond during the night of the 12th of May towards Jackson. Gen. Grant determined then to move directly on Jackson with McPherson's corps, *via* Clinton to the north of Raymond on the railroad, leaving Sherman to follow Gregg through Raymond towards Jackson. The two corps arrived before Jackson on May 14th, one from the west, the other from the south.

Gen. Joseph E. Johnston arrived in Jackson about dark on the evening of the 13th of May, the evening before the arrival of the two corps; he found everything in confusion. He learned that Gregg had been defeated at Raymond the day before, and that several divisions of Federal troops were at Clinton between Jackson and Pemberton's army. Two small brigades numbering less than 5,000 men from South Carolina had arrived (Walker's and Colquitt's) which with Gregg's brigade numbered all told about 6,000 men at his disposal. As soon as he learned the situation, he sent the following dispatch to Gen. Pemberton, then west of the Big Black at Bovina while his army was at Edward's depot, to his front, viz: "I have lately arrived and learned that Maj. Gen. Sherman is between us with four divisions at Clinton. It is important to establish communication, that you may be reinforced. If practicable come up in his rear at once. To beat a detachment would be of immense value. All the troops you can quickly assemble should be brought. Time is all important."

This dispatch was sent in triplicate by different messengers. One of the messengers was a disloyal Confederate or a Federal

spy, who put it in the hands of Gen. Grant on the next day (May 14th). On the 14th the two Federal army corps arrived before Jackson. Gen. Johnston saw at once that he could not hold the place and gave orders for evacuation, having the troops make only a display of resistance, so as to move out as many supplies as possible. He moved north towards Canton about six miles, and sent messengers to Gen. Pemberton advising him of the evacuation of Jackson, and of his own locality, and still impressing upon Pemberton the importance of having his reinforcements. This dispatch did not reach Pemberton until after his defeat at Champion Hills. The loss attending the evacuation of Jackson, was to the Federal army 300 men and to the Confederates 200. On morning of May 15th Gen. Johnston received Pemberton's dispatch dated 5.40 p. m., at Edwards, May 14th, to the effect that Pemberton had changed his plans and would not move as he had previously stated towards Clinton, but would, on May 15th, move with 17,000 men to Dillon on the main road from Raymond to Port Gibson,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles below Raymond and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Edwards depot, to cut the enemy's communications and force the enemy to attack him, as he felt he was too weak to attack Grant or cut his way to Jackson. Gen. Johnston at once sent word to Pemberton, in substance, that his leaving Jackson and going to the north, rendered his movement for junction by way of Raymond impracticable, and ordered Pemberton to move, so as to effect a junction north of the railroad. Gen. Pemberton received this dispatch at 6.30 a. m. on the 16th (the day of the battle), and replied telling Johnston where he was; that he had issued orders to reverse his march to obey his (Johnston's) order; and that he would move from Edwards in direct line of Brownsville, leaving Bolton to his right.

Gen. Grant having possession of Jackson, May 14th, at once had Gen. Sherman to begin the destruction of all public property. So soon as he had Johnston's first dispatch of May 13th (to Pemberton) in his possession (through a spy) it gave him the key to the Confederate plan of campaign and he at once with great skill began to concentrate his army to meet the probable movement of Pemberton to comply with his superior's order, supposing that he would obey it. He knew that Pemberton could not execute the order with success owing to the



locality of his own troops. With this key in his possession, he had a great advantage over Pemberton, and his army was admirably in position to concentrate and counteract any movement of Pemberton. He ordered McPherson to retrace his steps rapidly towards Bolton (the nearest point Gen. Johnston could reach Pemberton, if he obeyed the order, from his position on the Canton road). He also ordered McClernand to move his four divisions towards Bolton. Blair of Sherman's corps had now come up, and he was also ordered to move towards Bolton, so that on the afternoon of May 14th and on May 15th, two divisions of McPherson's corps, four divisions of McClernand's corps and one division of Sherman's corps were marching almost in line of battle to concentrate at Bolton. These movements were later changed so that McClernand had one division (Hovey's) moving on the main Clinton and Edwards road, in front of McPherson's two divisions; (the divisions of Osterhaus and Carr) moving on what was known as the Middle Raymond road, from Raymond to Edwards (a few miles south of the road Hovey was on), while the division of A. J. Smith and Blair were moving on the main southern road from Raymond to Edwards (a few miles south of the Middle Raymond road), so that, by the afternoon of May 15th the seven divisions were all moving towards Edwards depot instead of Bolton. Gen. Sherman, who was left in Jackson, was to follow later. These seven divisions, now rapidly concentrating for battle, and on converging roads, numbered, as by latest returns (April 30, 1863), 33,551 men, leaving out the losses at Port Gibson, Raymond and Jackson, amounting to about 1,617 men.

Gen. Pemberton, about midday of May 15th, moved his army of about 17,500 men in three divisions, from the line of battle in front of Edwards depot facing east, on the main Edwards and Clinton road. He could not move on the direct road to Dillon as a heavy rain had fallen on the night of the 14th and on the 15th of May, and had caused Baker's creek to rise and wash away the bridge on that road. This caused delay and forced his army to be put in motion after midday. The army moved on the Edwards and Clinton road in an easterly direction to a point about a mile from Champion's House, where the road to Clinton and Bolton turned abruptly to the north for about a mile before resuming an easterly direction again (near the

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Champion House). This is an important point in the description of the battle, for it is where the Middle Raymond road comes into the Clinton and Edwards roads, on which the divisions of Osterhaus and Carr were moving towards Edwards, and were encamped on the night of May 15th; it is also the point where a country road continues almost due south, and in prolongation of the Clinton road in its southerly direction, before turning west again. This country road ran from one to one and a half miles to the south before entering the South Raymond road, upon which the division of A. J. Smith and Blair were moving from Raymond to Edwards.

At the intersection of these roads, viz: Clinton and Middle Raymond (one mile from Champion's House), is where Gen. Pemberton's army left the Edwards and Clinton road (as also the Middle Raymond road), moving to the south to get on the South Edwards and Raymond road (the one Pemberton intended to move his army on from Edwards). The Confederate army marched until after midnight, the front division (Loring's) passing out of the cross-road and turning east on the Raymond road, and going towards Raymond about one and one-half miles to Mrs. Ellison's house. The rear divisions (Bowen's and Stephenson's) found themselves on this country road, when they went into bivouac after midnight, all three divisions bivouacing as they found themselves, strung out on this country road and on the South Raymond and Edwards road (a distance of about one and a half miles). The rear of Pemberton's army was at the intersection of these three roads, the Edwards and Clinton, the Middle Raymond, and the country road connecting the two Raymond roads.

The condition of affairs was a very singular one on the night of May 15th, when the two armies were in bivouac. *Gen. Grant knew that Pemberton's move would probably be from the first dispatch of Gen. Johnston to Pemberton of May 13th, which a Union spy had put in Gen. Grant's possession on May 14th.* The three columns were moving, as already stated, almost in a line of battle, in supporting distance on three converging roads, towards Edwards and with a fixed purpose to give battle and forestall any movement of Gen. Pemberton. The Federal army encamped in about three miles on each road from the Confederate army with orders to make an early start on the morning of

May 16th. Gen. Grant was displaying quickness, decision, and thorough knowledge of grand tactics, in the handling of his troops, and based on what his enemy would probably do, based on the delivery of the spy's dispatch.

The Confederate army was moving with scarcely any definite knowledge of the enemy, while Grant's army was moving almost with certainty of events. Gen. Pemberton did not want to move from Edwards, but felt he must in response to Gen. Johnston's order.

As stated, the morning of May 16th found the Confederate army strung out for about two and a half miles on two roads. As the army had marched nearly all night, Pemberton decided to await some information before he began his march again. He sent out scouts on the three roads towards Clinton, and towards Raymond on the two roads. He did not have to wait long. The Federal troops were up bright and early, and in motion on all three roads. The first information was received from the South Raymond road on which A. J. Smith and Blair were moving. Skirmishing began early in the morning; at 7.30 a. m. Cannonading began on this road; soon afterwards skirmishing began on the Middle Raymond road and on the Clinton road one mile from the intersection of the roads. It was soon apparent that the enemy was on each road and in force. A little after sunrise (about 6.30 a. m.), Gen. Pemberton received an order from Gen. Johnston to move north of the railroad so that he could form a junction with him. He informed him, his move southward would not do, as he had evacuated Jackson, had moved north, and could not join him by way of Raymond.

Pemberton at once gave orders to reverse his order of march to get back across Baker's creek and to Edwards, so that he could be in position to form a junction with Johnston. He ordered his trains to move rapidly back and thus clear the roads so the troops could march quickly. He ordered Gen. Stephenson to begin the retrograde movement, as soon as the road was clear. The road was clear by 9 a. m. But by this time it was evident that the Federal army was close at hand, and advancing, and was bent on battle and matters looked so threatening that Gen. Pemberton had decided to form a line of battle on the cross road, connecting the two Raymond roads. It took some

time to do this, and Loring's division was drawn back from the South Raymond road, and formed so as to cover this road and the military road, leading southwest, and connect with Bowen's division to his left, and the latter with Stephenson's division on his left. This battle formation made the Confederate line about one and one-quarter miles long. It would have been on a fairly good line of battle had the enemy been altogether in its front, as Pemberton supposed. The formation put Stephenson's left at the intersection of the three roads, one mile from Champion's house. Stephenson's rear brigade (Reynold's, 2,500 strong), had been sent to Edwards with the trains, and his second brigade (S. D. Lee's) from his left after facing east on the cross roads, had its left at the intersection of the three roads (Clinton, Middle Raymond and country road), and became the extreme left of the army in its line of battle facing east. Skirmishers were sent out by each brigade along the entire front of the line of battle. The skirmishers of Gen. Cummings brigade (nine companies) never rejoined him till late in the afternoon after the defeat. Lee's skirmishers were out on the Middle Raymond road, a mile away, and were also at the Champion House, one mile from the intersection of the three roads. The skirmishers in front of the line of battle on the cross roads all came in touch with the enemy.

Lee instead of following the reverse movement of the army back to Edwards, as intended, had been compelled to form in line of battle at 8 a. m., and was hotly engaged with the enemy's pickets. They were aggressive and were constantly reinforced. By 9 a. m., when the road was clear, Lee reported that the enemy were massing on the extreme left, near the railroad (nearly one and a half miles from his left), preparing to turn his left, and get between the army and Edwards. He was compelled to move his brigade rapidly to his left to keep pace with the enemy; he notified the troops on his right of the necessity of this move, at the same time reporting the same to Gen. Stephenson, his division commander. The Confederate line of battle facing east confronted the two divisions of Osterhaus and Carr on the Middle Raymond road, and also the two divisions of A. G. Smith and Blair on the South Raymond road. These four divisions, by the April return of Grant's army numbered 19,190 men for duty. Pemberton's army left in line of

battle after Reynold's brigade (2,500 men), had been sent towards Edwards depot with the train, numbered only 15,000 men. The massing of troops to the left of the Confederate army, facing east as reported by S. D. Lee, and the beginning of his movement to his left, to counteract it, soon developed the fact that the battle was not to be fought, as expected, but that a formidable attack was being precipitated, on a new line, at right angles to the first line of battle, and by three other divisions, viz.: Hovey (McClelland's corps), and Logan's and Croker's, of McPherson's corps. These three divisions by the April return numbered 16,653 men, so that Pemberton found himself, with a force outnumbering him in his front, being compelled to change his line of battle at right angles to meet the movement on his left of another force, also outnumbering his entire force.

He did not realize his condition until it was too late, and as the skirmishing had begun on the two southern roads first, he felt the main attack would be delivered there. For some reason, however, the Union troops on the southern roads were exceedingly slow and cautious, and made no advance. They did good service in holding the Confederate troops in their immediate front until it was too late to move these Confederate troops in time to prevent the disaster, and until the more vigorous and aggressive attack was made on Pemberton's left flank by the wide awake and skilled McPherson, and later by Gen. Grant himself. Gen. Stephenson, commanding Pemberton's left division, soon saw the magnitude of the flanking move of Gen. Grant, and began forming a new line of battle, though he was constantly and hotly engaged between 9.30 and 11 a. m. He could not, however, impress the immediate danger on Gen. Pemberton.

It is now necessary at this point to describe the topography of the new battlefield that was to be, facing north, instead of the one Pemberton expected, with his army facing east (on the cross road), and confronting the four divisions then in his front, and in the morning nearer to him than the troops marching from Clinton towards Edwards. It is a fact, too, that these troops on the Middle and South Raymond roads did form in line of battle; A. J. Smith's division was only 1,200 yards distant and in sight of Pemberton's army, and remained in-

active nearly the entire day and until the battle was decided. As already stated, there were two roads leading to Edwards (South road), the other branching off to the west from a road leading almost due north to Bolton on the railroad (and nearly half way). The Clinton and Edwards road ran about a half mile south of the railroad, and in a westerly direction, until near the Champion House (half way between Bolton and Edwards). Baker's creek, also near the Champion House, runs north of the railroad, in a westerly direction, until little over a mile, it turns almost due south. The change of direction in the creek caused the country, beginning at Champion's house, to become rougher and more undulating, more hilly and broken with deep ravines. What is known as "Champion's Hills" begin near the house, and the highest point of the hill is one-half mile northwest from the house. This point, too, is on a line almost at right angles with the hills, spurs running off to the west towards the creek and Edwards depot; a main spur also runs almost due south and crosses both the Middle and South Raymond roads. There are spurs running north from the main spur running toward Edwards (west), in the woods.

To get over this hill at the Champion House, the Clinton and Edwards roads turn northwest half a mile to ascend the hill, and when the road reaches the highest point it runs due south half a mile. When it gets into the Middle Raymond road, it turns westwardly again towards the creek and Edwards, and the two roads become one and the same road. This road now runs one and a half miles down a gentle slope almost west to the bridge over Baker's creek, and is uniformly from a half to a quarter of a mile from the top of the ridge of hills, where the battle was fought and decided. Between this ridge and the road, for about a mile or more, are minor ridges and ravines. It should be stated also, that when the Clinton and Edwards road, after going a mile from the Champion House, turns westerly towards Edwards, that a country road continues in a southerly direction to the South Raymond road, and it was on this cross road that Pemberton's first line of battle was formed.

The Confederate Army was, at first, thrown into line of battle facing east (and not really in line on Pemberton's right flank till 11 a. m.), and confronting directly the four divisions of Osterhaus, Carr, Smith and Blair. By 9.30 or 10 a. m. Logan's



division, of McPherson's corps, was massed and moving around the left of Pemberton's army towards Edwards depot, and Hovey's division was opposite the angle. The resistance offered by Lee's brigade in front of the Champion House and in its vicinity, led McPherson, who was early on the field, to believe that the high points occupied by Lee's skirmishers, was the right of Pemberton's army. He at once acted accordingly.

He directed Hovey's division (McClelland's corps), to be ready to move directly against the high point of the hill, while with Logan's division of his corps he formed a line of battle fronting the spurs of hill running due west. His troops faced south, his right extending towards Edwards. Lee's brigade (left) of Stephenson's division, as early as 9.30 a. m., was therefore compelled to move across the Middle Raymond road for over half a mile, *and then turn almost directly at right angles westward*, to face McPherson's troops, then forming on an open field, and pushing forward with his own skirmishers, and with skirmishers of Hovey's division, to force the skirmishers of Lee back to the hill and the woods. This movement of Lee's brigade continued for over a mile and a half from its position early in the morning, and until about 11 a. m., when the battle opened so heavily he had to stop in order to hold his line. The movement to confront McPherson was made while the skirmishers of both sides were waging a fight almost equal in volume to a battle. Stephenson's next brigade (Cummings'), which was next to Lee, closed in on Lee as he moved north and west. The development of McPherson was so rapid that Stephenson, before 12 m., had to take his right brigade (Barton's), entirely out of line, and move it rapidly to the left in the rear of Cummings' and Lee's to confront a part of McPherson's corps, *which had already turned Lee's left, and was virtually between Lee and the bridge*. All this was going on between 10 a. m. and 12 m. About this time or 12 m. the battle opened with great fury, the two divisions (Logan's and Hovey's), falling with all their strength on Lee's and Cummings' brigades. Stevenson's brigade of Logan's division had already "double-quickened" and gained the woods, on the spurs running to the north toward Baker's Creek, and on Lee's left, and between Lee and the bridge over Baker's Creek.

The attitude of the two armies about 12 m., when the battle

opened with greatest fury, on the left of Pemberton and the right of Grant, may be stated as follows: The first line of battle of the Confederates was scarcely formed on the extreme right at 11 a. m. Before this, Stephenson's division had for one hour and a half or more, been moving to the north and west. Bowen's division was gradually closing to the left (on the country cross roads), to fill the gap made by Barton's removal, and the constant movement of Stephenson to the left. Loring had remained on the South Raymond road, and both Bowen and Loring saw the enemy in line of battle in their front, though they heard the increasing noise of battle to their left. When the battle burst in all its fury about noon, on Stephenson's two brigades (Lee's and Cumming's), Barton, whom Stephenson had moved from his extreme right on the first line of battle, to the extreme left, to be put on Lee's left, was just arriving and getting into position, where he found that one of Logan's brigades (Stevenson's), had already seized the woods to Lee's left, turned his (Lee's) left flank, and was advancing rapidly to the Edwards road (immediately in the rear of Barton), then forming to stop his advance. Barton's line extended from near Lee's left towards the bridge over Baker's creek. Bowen had not then filled the gap left by the removal of Barton. Gen. Cummings in closing on Lee had moved his brigade across the Middle Raymond road, had arrived at the high point of the hill, half a mile to the north, had turned the head of his brigade due west at right angles, to follow Lee, and had gone due west on the ridge with a regiment (39th Georgia), and four companies of another regiment (34th Georgia), in the new direction. The other companies of the 34th Georgia were along the Clinton road facing east. The 36th Georgia was to the right of the 34th on the Clinton road facing east. There was then a gap of three hundred yards or more to the intersection of the roads, and at this point two of Cummings' regiments (56th and 57th Georgia), and Waddell's battery had been left to protect the right and rear of the new line of battle, from any approach on the Middle Raymond road, on which our skirmishers were engaged with those of Osterhaus. On the high hill at the angle were two guns of Johnston's Virginia battery, and later two guns of Waddell's Alabama battery. The 36th, 34th and 39th Georgia on the two sides of the angle at the high point were

short the three companies each, which had been detached early in the morning, before beginning to move towards the left, and the 34th and 36th Georgia, also had one company each on detached service. Hence these three regiments at the vital point when attacked, were short eleven companies (more than a full regiment), so that the three regiments were equal to only two regiments (1,000 men). Cummings was in single line of battle with no reserves. Although the nine companies which were sent out as skirmishers early in the morning and which fought Osterhaus and Carr, never joined Cummings till after the battle, they kept back the enemy on that road.

Lee's brigade (Stephenson's division), was composed of five regiments, and were to Cummings' left, on the ridge towards Edwards, and on the edge of the woods, facing the open field where McPherson formed Logan's division facing south, and from right to left in the following order: 20th, 31st, 46th, 30th and 23d Alabama regiments, covering a line of nearly three-quarters of a mile in a single line of battle, with no reserves and no artillery. Lee's regiments were also short six or eight companies of skirmishers on the Middle Raymond road, under Col. E. W. Pettus, which companies did not rejoin him until after the battle.

Gen. Barton, when forming his line to stop the advance of Stevenson's brigade of Logan's division, then pressing forward, arranged his brigade in the following order: The 40th, 41st and 43d Georgia regiments on the right, ready to charge; 52d Georgia to support Corput's battery, six hundred yards from the bridge. The 42d Georgia and Sharkey's section of Ridley's battery, under Capt. Ridley himself, also came up, after the repulse of Barton, and endeavored to check the advance of the Federals.

The attitude of the Confederate troops having thus been described at 12 m., when the battle began to rage in all its fury on Pemberton's left division, it is well to describe more minutely the attitude of the Union Army, on Grant's right. It has already been stated that the four divisions of the Union Army (Osterhaus', Carr's, A. J. Smith's, and Blair's), under Gen. McClernand, which composed the center and left of Grant's army, took no part in the battle until it was decided. Osterhaus and Carr arrived on the field about 3.30 p. m., and their arrival

finally, with the concentrated fire of Hovey's and McPherson's artillery, caused Bowen's division to fall back. These two divisions took up the pursuit by Gen. Grant's order, but the arrival of two of Loring's brigades about 3.30 p. m. or 4 p. m. between the Edwards and Bolton road and Baker's creek, held them in check, and the defeated Confederates were enabled to cross the creek at the ford on the lower Raymond road, on which A. J. Smith and Blair had been in line of battle since early in the morning. In fact these two divisions made no advance movement on the Confederates in their front during the day, not even when Bowen's division and two brigades of Loring's division were moved from their front. Tilghman's brigade of Loring's division confronted them from about 3 p. m. until after dark and held the ford over which most of Stephenson's and Bowen's divisions crossed Baker's creek. Gen. Loring about dark, moved his division of three brigades around these two Union divisions on the South Raymond road, and united his forces a few days later with Gen. J. E. Johnston at Jackson, Mississippi. He did not go into Vicksburg with Pemberton's army after the battle.

It was different, however, with Generals Hovey and McPherson on Gen. Grant's right. Hovey being in front, as soon as he saw the Confederates, at once formed a line of battle and began to push out his skirmishers, and McPherson, who was early in the front, hurried up his two divisions (Logan's and Crocker's), and began placing them in an open field near the railroad to the right of Hovey. He sent back a request for Gen. Grant at Clinton to hurry to the front, and that officer by 7 a. m. was moving rapidly towards the Champion Hills, the roads being cleared of all trains, so that the troops could move rapidly to the front. McPherson supposed the high point of the Champion Hills (the angle), occupied by the Confederates, to be the right of Pemberton's line of battle. He ordered Hovey's division, which was about ready by 10.30 a. m. to be ready to move directly against the high point of the hill, while he put Logan's division (three brigades, Leggett, Smith and Stevenson), in the open field in two lines of battle almost at right angles to Hovey and facing the south. Rogers' battery was between Smith and Stevenson towards the right. Hovey formed his division on both sides of the road near the Cham-

pion House. McGinnis on the right, with the 11th, 24th, 34th, and 46th Indiana regiments, and the 29th Wisconsin in two lines of battle, with the 11th Indiana south of the road.

Slack's brigade was formed to the left of McGinnis' and south of the Clinton and Edwards road and in the angle formed by this road, and the Middle Raymond road, also in two lines of battle, the 47th Indiana and 56th Ohio, and the 24th and 28th Iowa regiments. Leggett's brigade of Logan's division was immediately to the right of McGinnis. McPherson's second division (Crocker's), was coming up rapidly as the formation of Hovey and Logan was about completed and ready to attack.

The Confederate skirmishers (Lee's), were driven in by 10.45 a. m. on the Bolton road, and also from the open field. Gen. Cummings had no skirmishers in his front, he had moved so rapidly to the left that his skirmishers could not follow his movement. The Union line of battle was complete from left to right, and at 11.30 a. m. the two divisions of Hovey and Logan advanced to the attack. By 12 m. the battle was at its height.

The road from the Champion House, as already stated, bore southwest half a mile to the high point of the hill, and thence due south half a mile to the Middle Raymond road, so that Hovey's division swung the right brigade to the left, and the left brigade to the right, forming a crescent shape, as it approached the Confederate line of battle, which made a right angle at the high point. McGinnis' brigade, as it advanced, gradually came on a line with Logan's division facing south. His brigade crowded near the angle on the north side, and gradually occupied the ravines and ridges close to the Confederate position. The brigade being in double line of battle, made a rush on the west side of the angle held by the 39th Georgia and half of the 34th Georgia, and after a short and desperate struggle drove back these two regiments, capturing a good many prisoners and four pieces of artillery. "It is impossible for any force to hold its ground when attacked at once on both sides which constitute a right angle."—Doubleday.

Having captured this portion of the line, and the 11th Indiana attacking on the east side and also Slack's brigade, it enfiladed the line of the 36th Georgia, on the Clinton road facing east, and caused that regiment to fall back on the Clinton road, after

it had entered the Raymond road, and resumed its western direction towards the bridge over Baker's creek, and towards Edwards depot (about four miles distant). The Union troops after penetrating some short distance into the woods, also enfiladed the right of S. D. Lee's brigade, causing the two right regiments, the 20th and 31st Alabama to fall back to a ridge some four hundred yards in the rear. The 56th and 57th Georgia regiments at the intersection of the Middle Raymond and Clinton roads, also had to change front, so as to face north to protect Waddell's battery (six guns), in the south angle made by the two roads. Lee, after rallying his two regiments on the right, though he had repulsed the attack of Leggett and Smith in his front, had to withdraw his entire brigade, placing it on a ridge between his first line facing the open field and the Edwards and Clinton roads one-half mile in his rear, as Stevenson's brigade of Logan's division had turned his left flank. This second line was a continuation of the line on which the 20th and 31st Alabama regiments had been formed at the time they fell back, when the angle was carried, which had been occupied by Cummings' Georgia brigade.

The carrying of the high point of the hill by McGinnis' brigade of Hovey's division, and the forced change of position on the right and left of the angle by Cummings' and Lee's brigades, took some time, probably from one to one and a half hours, and was marked by the most desperate fighting on both sides, ground being taken and retaken several times, and Waddell's battery at the cross roads doing splendid service. The 56th, 57th and 36th Georgia, and part of the 34th and 36th Georgia, and of the 20th and 31st Alabama, in their second line of battle, fought gallantly against the two brigades of McGinnis and Slack. About 1.30 p. m. the 24th Iowa, of Slack's brigade, captured Waddell's battery at the cross roads, the 56th and 57th Georgia regiments having fallen back near their first position which they had held early in the morning when facing eastward.

When the Confederate position at the angle was taken and the new line formed by Cummings and Lee, the brigades of Leggett and Smith moved forward, but failed to drive Lee from his second line. The brigade commanded by Stevenson (Logan's division), had turned Lee's left and occupied the woods

towards the bridge over Baker's creek. This had been done before Barton had begun his formation to Lee's left, and before Lee had retired to his second line. Stevenson repulsed Barton's attack and cut him off from the Confederate troops to his right, Barton moving to his left and crossing over the bridge towards Edwards. Stevenson after gaining the road in the rear of the Confederate line of battle, saw part of Cummings' troops reforming and those of Bowen's division coming up in the distance.

During all this time desperate fighting had been going on. McGinnis had called for help, and two regiments of Sanford's brigade (Crocker's division), had reinforced him and the other two regiments of Sanford's brigade had reinforced Leggett, and Smith, in the fight with the three left regiments of Lee's brigade. The other two brigades commanded by Boomer and Holmes had now come up and restored the fight near the angle, but Bowen's charge about 2.15 or 2.30 p. m. swept everything before him, driving Hovey and all his reinforcements under Crocker steadily back, and recapturing the Confederate guns lost about 12 m. Hovey, seeing the desperate condition in his front by the approach of Bowen's division, had called hastily for help. Gen. Grant, as Crocker was not then fully up, ordered Logan to move his division to the left to help Hovey. Stevenson, of Logan's division, who had captured and crossed the road in rear of Lee, was recalled, when he had cut off Lee in the rear; he was hurried to the rear of Smith and Leggett to be ready to aid in turning the Union disaster then appearing imminent, by the driving back of Hovey and the two and a half brigades of Crocker before Bowen.

It is important now that we go back a little and tell the part played by Bowen's division, made up of Missourians and Arkansans, two brigades commanded by Gen. Francis M. Cockrell and Martin E. Green. Cockrell's brigade consisted of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th Missouri regiments, with Guibors', Laude's and Wade's Missouri batteries. Green's brigade consisted of the 1st Arkansas Cavalry, dismounted, and the 12th, 15th, 19th, 20th, and 21st Arkansas Infantry, part of the 1st Missouri Cavalry, dismounted, and the 3d Missouri Battalion. By the closest inquiry, considering their numbers in the report of March 31st, and their losses at Port Gibson, the division

(Bowen's), carried into action 3,500 men. The division, according to Gen. Cockrell, was unengaged until a little after 1 p. m., except in an artillery duel early in the day with some artillery of the enemy near the South Raymond road. About this time (a little after 1 p. m.), Cockrell's brigade, and soon after Green's was ordered to the left to reinforce Gen. Stephenson's division, which had met with disaster. Cockrell was ordered first to the left and then to the right of Stephenson's division. On reaching this latter position he found that the Confederate troops were being driven steadily back. Cockrell formed his brigade and tried to put his right on the left of the three regiments (36th, 56th and 57th Georgia), of Cummings' brigade, near the cross roads. Before he could do this, however, these two Georgia regiments were driven back by Slack's Union brigade, and Waddell's Alabama battery, which was near the cross roads, in the angle between the Clinton and Edwards road and the country cross roads, was captured by the 24th Iowa regiment. Cockrell had some trouble in holding the right of his brigade for a while, but as soon as he was ready he charged the enemy, driving everything before him, and capturing the Confederate guns which had been lost at about 12 m. Green's brigade came up soon after Cockrell started to the front, and forming on his right, pushed rapidly forward, and as Cockrell had done, recaptured the guns in his front. He went across a cornfield, in open ground, and thence into the woods and ravines on the other side of the open fields. It appears that Cockrell's brigade went to the left of the Clinton and Edwards road on the south and west side of the high point of Champion Hills, while Green's brigade went to the right of this road, through the open fields. As nearly as can be ascertained, Waddell's battery was captured about 1.30 or 1.45 p. m., and Bowen's division made their magnificent charge about 2.30 p. m.

The charge of this magnificent division, for dash and gallantry, was not surpassed by any troops on either side. They steadily advanced, firing as they advanced, and drove back Hovey's division, which had been reinforced by two regiments of Sanborn's brigade, and later engaged and drove back the two brigades of Boomer and Holmes as they came up. In other words, Bowen drove back the two divisions of Hovey



and Crocker, less only two regiments of Crocker, which had reinforced Leggett and Smith, fighting Lee. The charge and fighting was desperate and lasted nearly two hours. The Union troops were driven over a mile and beyond the crest of the hills originally held by the Confederate troops. The Union troops made a desperate stand on the slope of the hills toward the Champion House. Sixteen guns of the 1st Missouri battery (Schofield's), 16th Ohio battery, and Dillon's Wisconsin battery, were placed on a ridge in an open field, so as to enfilade the entire line of Bowen's division. The firing of two lines of battle could be distinctly seen, and this terrible artillery fire, showered incessantly shot and shell on the entire line of the Confederates. But even this did not drive the division back. About 3.30 p. m. or 4 p. m. the troops of Osterhaus and Carr were seen approaching on the Middle Raymond road, in formidable line of battle, with their skirmishers in front. Bowen called for help, but Loring had not come with the reinforcements. A few Confederate guns were opened on the approaching line, and the 12th Louisiana was sent to check them, but they came steadily along, and the Confederates, with their ammunition exhausted, and having used what they could get also from the cartridge boxes of friend and foe, had to fall back to prevent their being cut off by this formidable new line of Osterhaus and Carr, approaching at right angles (see reports of Gen. Cockrell, Col. Dockery and Col. Gates, and Gen. Osterhaus). The two brigades in falling back moved directly towards the lower ford on the South Raymond road. Buford's brigade, of Loring's division, appeared in the rear of the Clinton and Edwards road, about the time Stevenson's brigade (of Logan's division), had returned to its former position, after crossing the Edwards road in the rear of Lee, a little after 12 m. (It is recalled that it was drawn back when Bowen was beginning his charge, and moved to the rear of Smith and Leggett). It had now returned and had again crossed the road in rear of Lee, who was still fighting to the left of Bowen. The brigades of Lee's were Leggett and Smith, the last Confederate troops east or north of the Edwards road. Buford checked the Union troops under Stevenson, Loring had also arrived on the Confederates left, about 4 p. m., and soon after Buford. The day had been lost to the Confederates. Gen. Stephenson had orders

from Pemberton to retreat before Loring's arrival. Bowen moved directly towards the lower ford, passing to the south of Loring's two brigades. Lee, of Stephenson's division, was still fighting after the withdrawal of Bowen on the right, and north of the Edwards road. Seeing Stevenson (Logan's division), had again gotten to his rear, Lee withdrew one half mile to the south side of the Edwards road, and formed on the left of Featherston's brigade, reporting to Gen. Loring, the senior officer on the field. The two brigades of Loring's division, confronted Osterhaus and Carr, and Stevenson's brigade, of Logan's division, and held them at arm's length, until the Confederates between the Edwards road and the lower Raymond road crossed over the lower ford. The pursuit was not pressing in this direction. Bowen crossed at the lower ford, and Lee later, with part of his brigade and Cummings'. Gen. Loring, as we have said, did not cross Baker's creek and go into Vicksburg with the rest of Pemberton's army, but about dark moved around the Union divisions of A. J. Smith and Blair and joined Gen. J. E. Johnston a few days afterwards at Jackson, Mississippi.

Gen. Pemberton after the disaster at Champion Hills, withdrew his army across Big Black river. The Union troops followed leisurely in pursuit, crossing Baker's creek, both on the lower Raymond road and the Clinton and Jackson road, Osterhaus and Carr arriving at Edwards depot about 9 p. m., May 16th. On the 17th Pemberton tried to hold the "Tete de Pont" at Big Black, with Vaughan's brigade of fresh troops and Bowen's division. This also resulted in disaster and in the loss of additional guns and prisoners. Scarcely any defense was made. The Confederate troops were very much demoralized, and soon broke in their efforts to cross the bridge. The Confederate troops on the west bank covered the disorderly flight, enabling most of the troops on the east side of the river to get over. Gen. Pemberton then directed Gen. Stephenson to withdraw all the troops within the entrenched lines of the city of Vicksburg.

In reviewing the campaign up to the siege of Vicksburg, the great error of Pemberton was in not giving full credence to the reported movements of Gen. Grant, when he carried his army on the Louisiana side of the river by Vicksburg and then ran his boats by the batteries, and crossed his army to the Missis-

issippi side of the river. This movement was reported fully to him before April 16th, when the boats ran the batteries. He did not believe it possible for Gen. Grant to contemplate any serious movement in that direction, owing to his difficulty of supplying his army south of Vicksburg. He considered the movement too hazardous to be attempted. Even after the fleet had run the batteries, and the troops were reported at Hard Times on the Louisiana side, he did not feel justified in concentrating his army below Big Black river, not even then believing Grant would cross the river and get away from his supplies. He too was fearful that in case he moved his army from Vicksburg, the enemy might land between Grand Gulf and the city and take it by a dash, before the troops could retrace their steps.

Again, as Gen. Grant and Gen. Sherman had constantly looked to a lodgment on the bluffs north of the city, he was still fearful they intended to sieze the outpost at Snyder's Bluff on the Yazoo. Grant's superiority in numbers enabled him still to leave Sherman with his corps to demonstrate up the Yazoo and in the vicinity of Chickasaw Bayou. Gen. Pemberton's idea of defending Vicksburg was a cautious, defensive policy, not considering he had troops enough to send any considerable force far from Vicksburg to fight the enemy, without endangering the city itself; while his adversary, Gen. Grant, had troops enough to meet any Confederate army in Mississippi, and at the same time threaten Vicksburg with an army as large as Pemberton had, besides the great gun-boat fleet of Admiral Porter.

These facts, taken in connection with the bold and rapid movements of Grant in crossing his army below Grand Gulf and at once moving on Jackson, influenced Gen. Pemberton in his entire campaign. He was urged, by many of his officers, to concentrate his army below Big Black, and to give battle there to Grant when he crossed. He had ample time to do this after April 22d, when the second division of the Federal fleet and transports ran the batteries, and circumstances more clearly pointed to the certainty of the rapid movement of Gen. Grant to cross the Mississippi below the mouth of Big Black river. Having failed to meet Grant below Big Black river, and knowing the strength of his army as it confronted Bowen's small force at Port Gibson, his later movements followed as a se-

quence, viz: To watch the crossings of the Big Black river, and protect his railroad communications east of Vicksburg.

Gen. Grant by his bold and rapid movements after crossing the river outwitted his antagonist. He threatened the crossings of Big Black, and struck out boldly for Jackson, over fifty miles distant. He moved south of the railroad. He defeated and drove off the reinforcements, and destroyed the railroads over which Pemberton expected aid. Grant too was in good luck in having Johnston's plans and orders to Pemberton put in his hands early on the morning of May 14th, which gave him the key to the Confederate campaign. He was certainly fortunate in this successful treachery of a supposed Confederate. Pemberton did not want to fight east of Edwards depot, but under pressure of Johnston's order felt that he must move in some direction. He felt he was not strong enough to move towards Clinton, but was strong enough to move south on Grant's supposed line of communication, and attack a division of Grant's army, moving towards Jackson. Pemberton had bad luck as against Grant's good luck, when he had Johnston's order put in his possession. It rained almost a water spout at Edwards on the 14th, causing Baker's creek, over which he must cross, to overflow its banks and destroy the bridge on the South Raymond road, on which he had decided to march. So his movements were delayed twenty-four hours, and when he moved he had to take a roundabout route, and on the morning of the 16th of May, found himself on a country road between the Middle and South Raymond roads. Early on the morning of the 16th, he got a dispatch from Gen. Johnston, ordering him to retrace his steps. It so happened that Grant was marching all day on the 15th towards Pemberton as a result of the spy's dispatch and the latter did not know it. Pemberton while trying to obey Johnston's order and recross Baker's creek over the road he had marched the previous night, suddenly found himself brought to a standstill, by the presence of Grant's army on the three roads, having immediately in his front four divisions, outnumbering his army, and three other divisions turning his left flank (also equalling his entire force). The battle of Baker's creek, or Champion Hills, was the result of Grant's turning the left of Pemberton's army (Stephenson's division) with the three divisions of Hovey, Crocker and Logan, while

his four other divisions held the other two divisions of Pemberton (Bowen and Loring), until it was too late to change the tide of battle. Hovey and Logan with one brigade of Crocker's division (Sanborn's), crushed Stephenson's division before Bowen could get to his assistance. When Bowen arrived to assist Stevenson he drove Hovey steadily back, recapturing most of the guns lost earlier in the day. Crocker at this time came up with his two other brigades but he also was driven back. Here it was that the sixteen pieces of artillery were concentrated by Hovey and McPherson, enflading Bowen's line; and at the same time, Osterhaus and Carr, with their two divisions came up on the Middle Raymond road, with a line of battle at right angles to Bowen's division and into the gap in the line of battle between Bowen and Loring. (See reports of Osterhaus, Bowen and others.) This decided the battle and Gen. Pemberton ordered his army to retreat to Big Black river by the lower ford, as the water had now fallen in Baker's creek, and the stream was fordable.

It is useless now to speculate what might have occurred had Grant not had the information which the spy put into his hands early on May 14th, and which enabled him to concentrate seven divisions of his army on the three divisions of Pemberton, who supposed Grant was at Jackson, or had Gen. Joseph E. Johnston instead of halting after leaving Jackson, marched with his 6,000 men, north of the Vicksburg and Jackson railroad, and united with Pemberton, near Edwards, or threatened Grant's right flank near Bolton or Champion Hills. As it was, Grant had in the three divisions of Hovey, Logan and Crocker about 16,000 men, while in the four divisions of Osterhaus, Carr, A. J. Smith and Blair, there were nearly 20,000 men, on the field who hardly engaged.

The losses of the troops engaged show that the fighting was almost as desperate as in any battle of the war. Stephenson's (Confederate) division lost 2,863 men, killed, wounded and prisoners, out of 6,000. Bowen lost 868 out of his small division, Loring 125 men. Hovey on the Federal side lost 1,202 men, out of his two brigades, almost thirty per cent.; Crocker 662 men, out of his three brigades; Logan 403 men, out of his three brigades; Osterhaus 110 men; Carr one man; A. J. Smith 28 men; Blair none. The divisions of Stephenson and Bowen

on the Confederate side bore the brunt of the battle, and did not fight together but in detail, while on the Federal side, Hovey, Crocker and Logan did the fighting.

When we consider the odds during the campaign in favor of the Federal army, in the great army of Gen. Grant, and the great fleet of Admiral Porter, with the aid of Gen. Banks in penning up and capturing 7,000 men of Pemberton's army at Port Hudson, and the great assistance from the large force on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, which constantly raided into Mississippi with infantry and cavalry, and the fact that Pemberton could put in the field only about 18,000 men, without stripping Port Hudson, Vicksburg and Snyder's Bluff of their garrisons, the result of the campaign could not well have been other than it was.

It must be considered, however, that the campaign of Gen. Grant from the time he conceived it, was bold and masterly and has but few equals in this or any other war. It is true he had great odds and resources, but he used them as only a great general could have done.



## THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

BY STEPHEN D. LEE.

Gen. Pemberton who commanded the Confederate army after the disastrous battles of Champion Hills and Big Black Bridge, saw that no reliable resistance could be offered to Gen. Grant's victorious army, short of the defenses of Vicksburg itself. He, therefore (May 17th), gave directions to Gen. Stevenson his next in command, to rapidly withdraw all troops from the Big Black, at once into the city. He went ahead to Vicksburg himself, and ordered the fortified position at Snyder's Bluff on the Yazoo to be abandoned, and the garrison to come into the city. He also drew in the outpost at Warrenton, south of the city.

When Gen. Pemberton left Vicksburg with his movable army of three divisions to go into the field against Gen. Grant's army, he had left the two divisions of M. L. Smith and J. H. Forney, to guard the city during his absence from any attack, and also to maintain the defense of the Yazoo River at Snyder's Bluff, and to meet any attack from the direction of Chickasaw Bayou, like the one made by Gen. Sherman in Dec., 1862. This was deemed a necessary precaution for the protection of the city in the presence of the great gun-boat fleets, above and below the city, and the presence of troops at Young's Point, La., as seen and as indicated by Sherman's demonstration up the Yazoo River, April 30 to May 3d, 1863. These two divisions, however, were mainly in the fortified lines and on the main roads leading to it, east of the city to defend it against any sudden attack from across Big Black, or be in place in case of any disaster. These troops were rapidly put in position to the north and east of the city, on the afternoon and night of May 17th. About 102 pieces of field artillery were also put in place around the exterior line of defense.

The divisions of Gens. Stevenson and Bowen, the only troops engaged in the battle of Champion Hills, (and Bowen's division was also in the fight at Big Black Bridge), arrived in the city on the afternoon of May 17th, and were arranged for the defense of the place; so that by noon on May 18th, when the advance of Grant's army arrived in pursuit before the city,



Pemberton was about ready for its defense, and was in his entrenchments and fortified lines. The division of Maj. Gen. Loring, which was on the battlefield of Champion Hills, but which did no fighting, was cut off in the retreat and did not come into the city.

This entrenched line had been constructed in the fall of 1862, (in anticipation of future need), as also, were the entrenched lines at Snyder's Bluff on the Yazoo, and at Port Hudson on the Mississippi River in La. The topography of the country around Vicksburg for miles is very rough and irregular, being in the Bluff formation, made up of steep hills, and deep ravines and narrow vales, the narrow vales being level, and 100 feet or more deep. Varying from one mile to one and one-half miles from the city, is about the only uniform ridge around it, (but much broken and irregular), and jutting from this ridge are spurs running irregularly to the front and rear. This ridge made the only possible line of defense nearest the city, and on it, was a system of detached works (mainly redans and lunettes, with one square fort or redoubt) each situated on the prominent and commanding points (with the usual profile of field works), connected in most cases by rifle pits. This ridge or fortified line, was eight miles in length, from the river on the north of the city, to the river on the south.

As stated, by noon on May 18th, Gen. Pemberton had his army manning this line. A careful analysis of his force stated by him, and as proved later by inspection reports, showed that he had 18,500 men and 102 guns for the exterior defense, all that were present for duty. In addition, was the artillery command of Col. Ed. Higgins, in charge of 31 heavy guns, and 13 field pieces, along the river front, for over two miles, with 706 men for duty. Four divisions of troops of Pemberton's army were located from right to left as follows: Stephenson's division of 4 brigades manned the lines from the Warrenton road on the south of the city (and including a portion on the river front), around to the east and north as far as the river (a distance of about five miles) the brigade of Gen. S. D. Lee, being on the left, next to the railroad cut and extending so as to include the Square Fort. Gen. J. H. Forney's division (with two brigades), was immediately to the left of Stephenson, his right resting on the railroad, and his line extending northward to the graveyard road (about two miles); Maj. Gen. M. L.

Smith (with three brigades, and a regiment and battalion of State troops), extended in a westerly direction to the river, on the north of the city (one and a quarter miles); the division of Gen. Bowen of two brigades, 2,400 men present for duty, and Waul's Texas Legion, numbering 500 men present for duty with a total of 2,900 men were kept out of the entrenchments as a reserve force, to aid any portion of the line that might be pressed. This arrangement reduced the force, *actually occupying the trenches*, to a minimum capable of holding them, to a little over 15,500 men, for the eight miles. The troops and heavy guns in the artillery on the river, belonged to Admiral Porter's river force, he looked after them, and not Gen. Grant. It may be stated finally, that Gen. Pemberton's entire army for the defense of Vicksburg, after the city was invested, did not reach 19,500 men for duty. The city having been a base of supplies, where the largest Confederate army was kept for a long time before the investment, was full of sick and wounded men, quarter-master, commissary employees and extra duty men, and hangers on of every kind, who were suddenly shut in by Gen. Grant's rapid movement. Gen. Miles recently stated in the defense of Gen. Otis that "About 20% of an army under any conditions is practically inactive, owing to various duties about the camp, and in hospitals, transportation, sickness and various causes. In the Civil War, only a portion of the army operated on the fighting line a great bulk of the troops were engaged in various duties in the rear." This explanation will account for 29,491 men paroled at the surrender, as the condition was abnormal.

Pemberton's army had scarcely been assigned position and settled in the trenches, before the head of Gen. Grant's army appeared on the Graveyard, Jackson and Baldwin Ferry roads, east of the city, and began to skirmish with the Confederate pickets. It may be stated as a singular coincidence, that just one year before, to the day (May 18th, 1862,) Admiral Farragut, arrived before the city from New Orleans with nine ocean war steamers, seventeen mortar boats, and transports bearing 3,000 troops, and demanded the surrender of the city; so it may be stated, that the siege of the city began then, as it was almost continuously under the fire of heavy guns from Farragut's fleet, and the gun boat fleets on the river, till July 4th, 1863, when it surrendered.

About midday on the 18th, when the skirmishing had begun,

Gen. Pemberton received a dispatch from Gen. Joseph E. Johnson to the effect, that as he had evacuated Snyder's Bluff on the Yazoo, Vicksburg if besieged was untenable and must finally be surrendered, both city and army, and that he should evacuate the city, and march to the northeast, and save the army. Gen. Pemberton called a council of war of his general officers, to consult them as to the practicability of the movement. It was decided that in view of the presence of the Federal army on the graveyard road, near the northeast corner of the Confederate defense, and their evident development rapidly toward Chickasaw Bayou and Snyder's Bluff, (where the road lay, on which the army would have to move in case of evacuation), that such a movement was then impracticable, that it was then too late to attempt it. Gen. Sherman's advance came in sight of Admiral Porter's fleet north of the city near Chickasaw Bayou, on the afternoon of May 18th, showing that the decision of the general officers was correct.

From this date, Gen. Pemberton took the most vigorous steps to arrange for a long siege, believing that a sufficient army would be organized by President Davis, to relieve his army and the city. During the afternoon and night of the 18th of May, and on the 19th, 20th and 21st of May, the three army corps of Gen's Sherman, McPherson and McClernand, (numbering about 45,000 men) rapidly surrounded the Confederate works from the river to the north of the city, around to the east and south covering the Confederate line, to about the center of Stephenson's division; Lauman's division was moving up from Grand Gulf, to complete the investment. This increased Grant's army to 50,000 men. Every advanced position near the Confederate line was seized, and crowned with artillery and infantry, and sharpshooters were pressed forward, firing from every possible cover, and the artillery almost constantly fired on the Confederate line. Gen. Sherman who was first up, on the 19th, made an assault on the salient point, where the graveyard road crossed the Confederate line, and near the right of Gen. Smith's division, and the left of Gen. Forney's believing the works could be easily carried, owing to the demoralization of the Confederate troops. He met a bloody repulse, with the loss of 942 men killed and wounded, and two stand of colors. The corps of McPherson and McClernand attacked slightly also.

The assault and repulse of Gen. Sherman's corps made Gen.

Grant feel that he had been too hasty, but he still believed that the Confederate entrenchments could be carried, as had been the case at the Big Black Bridge; and it was soon evident, that another assault would be made, as soon as everything could be arranged for all the troops to take part. This was apparent to the Confederate troops, as the preparations did not partake of the slow methods of a siege program, but rather of the hasty preparation for immediate battle. The troops everywhere were being pushed up as near as possible to the Confederate lines, and were being massed under shelter in the deep vales in full view. Every possible approach was seized, every slope guarded, every irregularity in the ground seized and planted with rifle pits, all knolls were crowded with artillery and sharpshooters, and a continuous fire of artillery and infantry was kept up, to confine the Confederates to their lines, and hold them uneasy. The preparation was rather demonstrative than otherwise.

Admiral Porter's great fleet of gun-boats and mortar boats in front and south of the city, kept up a continuous fire of heavy guns and mortars, (day and night) and the city was surrounded on all sides by a wall of fire, and the noise of the guns and shrieking shot and shell from a hundred or more heavy guns on the river, and 31 batteries of field guns around the city was deafening. There was no rest day or night, and the nervous tension of all within Confederate limits, was kept to the highest pitch; especially during the night of the 21st and 22d of May, and on the morning of the 22d, when Admiral Porter kept up a continuous cannonading. Early on the morning of May 22d, the cannonading for over two hours along the entire front of Gen. Grant's lines, was continuous and unceasing; the artillery fire being accompanied by the ringing, steady cracking of the sharpshooters' rifles. We then knew that the assault was to occur; nothing could stand such a fire; all in the Confederate lines lay close in their entrenchments. There was no reply from either artillery or infantry, but, in terrible suspense, the assault was awaited in calmness and decision. All preparations had been made to meet it, the grape and cannister were arranged conveniently near the guns, an extra supply of ammunition was in the trenches. No other bombardment by so great an army and fleet occurred during the war. The scene and the occasion was grand, beyond description; 45,000 veteran American troops,

were ready to spring on nearly 20,000 other American troops, lying behind entrenchments. It was not known whether the assault would be on a part, or on the whole of the line of entrenchments.

Suddenly about half past 10 o'clock a. m., as if by magic, every gun and rifle stopped firing along Gen. Grant's exterior line. The firing of Admiral Porter's fleet, however, was apparently increased. The silence was almost appalling, at the sudden cessation of the firing of so many field guns, (about 180) and the cracking of so many thousands of sharpshooters' rifles. But the silence was only for a short time. Suddenly, there seemed to spring almost from the bowels of the earth, dense masses of Federal troops, in numerous columns of attack, and with loud cheers and huzzahs, they rushed forward, at a run, with bayonets fixed, not firing a shot, headed for every salient or advanced position, along the Confederate lines. They (the Federals), had not far to make the rush, as they had been under cover from 100 yards to 300 yards, from the lines to be attacked. Their advance over the rough ground which compelled them to open out, was a grand and awful sight, and most gallantly did those veterans move forward, feeling the flush of their numerous victories, and confident that every thing must go down before them.

As they came within easy range (almost as soon as they started), the Confederate troops, not exceeding 9,938 men, along the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles of assault, deliberately rose and stood in their trenches, pouring volley after volley, into the advancing enemy; at the same time, the troops in reserve (already included) advanced to the rear of the trenches, and fired over the heads of those in the trenches. Every field gun and howitzer (33 in number) belched forth continuously and incessantly, double shotted discharges of grape and cannister. No troops in the world could stand such a fire, and it took but a little time to see, that the general assault was repulsed. The troops stubbornly fell back as well as they could under shelter, and opened with artillery and infantry again on the Confederate lines. The ground every where in front was covered with Union dead and wounded.

But even the terrible scene and slaughter described, could not stop all of the valiant Federals. Some of them made lodgements in the ditches of the redans, at some points on the Graveyard, Jackson and Baldwin Ferry roads, and also in the ditch

of the fort on the R. R. cut. They even at this latter fort, entered the work, through the breach or slope which had been made in the southeast angle, by the artillery, before the assault; captured a few prisoners (13) and killed or drove the small garrison out, and to the work 80 to 100 yards in the rear.

Only one man who entered the fort (out of about 20) ever got out. All were killed, and this man, the gallant sergeant Griffith, 22nd Iowa Regiment, could not get out, till he had recovered from a shock or slight wound, after remaining inside the fort for about an hour. Flags, however, were planted in the ditches, and on the crest of the breach near the parapet. But the other gallant few who went farther to the front than their comrades, could not get out of the breach and over the works, and remained there till they were captured, or got back to their commands about dark.

The scene as I saw it at the railroad fort, and now describe it, was as follows, viz: This fort was on a narrow spur on the railroad cut. It could be manned by only about 40 men. It was thought to be a point of danger, and the main line of works was constructed 80 to 100 yards in its rear. It was the most exposed to a continuous fire of artillery, and immediately in front was the heavy siege battery of five 30 and 20 pounder Parrott guns, and many other batteries bearing on it.

The concentrated fire of nearly 30 guns made it almost untenable before the assault and it had only a small force in it. These guns battered down the S. E. angle of the fort, and from this angle, the ditch ran to the R. R. cut about 175 feet. Some little while after the general assault was thought to be repulsed, a body of Federal troops, apparently bolder and more venturesome than the others, and about 60 or 75 in number, made a dash for the fort, coming up a very steep and irregular declivity immediately in its front. Most of these troops got into the ditch of the fort, on the north of the breach, next to the railroad. A party of about twenty or thirty came up the ramp or slope of the breach, and entered the fort; before this was done, a brave non-commissioned Federal officer came boldly up and fired into the rifle pits, leading from the angle into the other pits, 80 yards in the rear, on the south of the fort. He reached down and got another rifle out of the ditch from a comrade and fired again almost instantly, when the gallant hero himself was shot down on the parapet. Then there was a rush

of about twenty men into the fort. They captured a few prisoners and killed the remainder, or ran them out of the fort. From the angle after entering they enfiladed the parapet and rifle pits. This occurred in almost less time than I have taken to describe it. A Confederate volley from the main lines shot down and killed or wounded every Federal soldier on the inside of the fort, and there was not a man standing in it afterwards, till captured. About this time, or soon afterwards, a flag was held up in the breach, near the parapet, and afterwards a second flag was put near it, those near lying on the rampart to defend them. The two flags remained there about three or four hours, before the fort was assaulted by the Confederates, recaptured and manned, and one of the flags captured.

When the men were first driven out of the fort a company of Confederates, led by Capt. Oden, 30th Ala. Regt., charging from the rear, in the open, attempted to retake it, and every man was shot down. Capt. Oden and Lieut. Wallis were killed, I think from the ridge south of the fort, and by a part of the Federal regiment, which attempted to get to the fort and failed. It took some time to get up a new assaulting party, as the troops saw the fate of the first party. However, a second party was soon organized. The two companies of Waul's Texas Legion, which were in the rear of the fort as a reserve, all said they would go, so that from the right of each company about twenty men were cut off. Lieut.-Col. Pettus, of the 20th Ala. Regt., was temporarily in command of a part of the 46th Ala. Regt. near that part of the line. The fort had been occupied by a portion of the 30th Ala. Regt. Col. Pettus, who was responsible for the fort, was ordered to retake it, but could not organize an assaulting party from either the 30th or the 46th Ala. Regiments. He then went to the Texans with Col. Waul and got the party, and three privates of the 30th Ala. Regt. joined it.

It is not yet settled who was in actual command, but Col. Pettus led and guided the gallant band, going up the ditch on the south side, and leading to the fort, Capt. Bradley being alongside of Col. Pettus, and Lieut. Hogue near by. When near the southwest end of the fort he signalled the Confederates at the lunette to the south to cease firing, and then all of the party, by two's, sprang into the fort and rushed to the

breach, and with a snatch Col. Pettus and Capt. Bradley seized the colors and killed or forced the men about it to surrender, or they were driven into the ditch to the north, taking a few prisoners (10 or 12). One of the flags in the scuffle fell into the ditch. The party having done this then quickly covered themselves in the fort, and were kept close for about fifteen minutes, as the fire of about forty guns were concentrated on the fort, and swept almost every part of it. Singular to say, only three of the assaulting party (Texans), were wounded, none killed. After the artillery firing, in a measure, ceased, hand grenades were carried into the fort and rolled over the parapet, and the Federals surrendered (a lieutenant-colonel and about forty prisoners coming over the rampart). The flag that fell into the ditch at the retaking of the fort was captured at the time of the surrender. This gallant incident, which shed lustre on the Confederate arms, was counterbalanced by the equally heroic incident of the assault by the 22nd Iowa, and the other regiments, and by the magnificent conduct of Sergeants E. Griffith and M. C. Messinger, and the gallant men of the 22nd Iowa Regiment, not surpassed by any incident of the war on either side.

The loss of the Federal army in this assault of May 22nd was 3,199 men killed, wounded and missing; in the assault of May 19th, 942 men, and in the arrangements for the assault by the corps of McPherson and McClernand, 239 men, making an aggregate of 4,380 men from the 19th to the 22d of May, inclusive. The assault of May 22d finally convinced Gen. Grant and his army that Vicksburg could not be taken by assault, and from that time no further efforts were made in that line, but the operations of the Union army was confined to the slow process of siege operations, and gradual approaches, to reach the Confederate entrenchments.

One of the most striking incidents of the horrors of war occurred after the failure of the Federal assault on May 22nd. The dead and many wounded of the gallant Union army remained unburied and uncared for from the time they fell until the afternoon of May 25th at 6 p. m., over three days, under the burning sun and damp dews, in full view, and close up to the Confederate works, and in view of the Union army.

Incessant artillery and infantry firing (day and night), pre-



vented both sides from attending to this matter. Many wounded died. A flag of truce was sent out by Gen. Pemberton on the 25th, protesting against such a scene and asking for a cessation of the strife for two hours and a half to bury the dead, and care for the wounded, offering to do it himself if necessary. Two and one-half hours were agreed on, and the two armies met on the line and chatted, and performed this sad duty. The bodies of the gallant soldiers from Iowa and Illinois in the ditch of the railroad fort were so decomposed that dirt was thrown on them in the ditch. The wounded left in the ditch had died. They could not be moved. This was the case nearly everywhere on the field, and they had to be buried generally where they fell.

It would not be out of place on this occasion to go briefly over some of the facts of this grand though disastrous assault. Gen. Badeau, in his account, Vol. I, page 327, says: "This assault was in some respects unparalleled in the wars of modern times. No attack on fortifications of such strength had been undertaken by great European captains, unless the assaulting party outnumbered the defenders by at least three to one." He then goes over the sieges and assaults of Wellington in the Peninsular war in Spain during Napoleon's time, and summarizes as follows: "In the second assault on Vicksburg, Grant had in his various columns, about 30,000 men who were engaged. Of these he lost probably 3,000 men in killed and wounded. He, however, was met by an army, instead of a garrison. Pemberton, according to his own statement, put 18,500 men in the trenches."

The General would have his reader infer that Grant's great assault was met by 18,500 men, and that he did not have three to one actually engaged. But the most accurate search for facts and figures shows that on the line of assault, from a little west of the stockade fort on the graveyard road, to the square redoubt on the right of Gen. S. D. Lee's line, south of the railroad, a distance of a little over three and a half miles, the Confederates had: Bowen's division (May 22nd), and Waul's Texas Legion, 3,069 men, in reserve; Forney's division, by the nearest report (May 26th), 4,252 men; Gen. Lee's brigade, 1,268 men; Shoup's brigade, in and to the left of stockade fort, 1,349 men, numbering 9,938 men, on the front, assaulted by the 30,000 men

(as named by Badeau), *or not quite one-third*. If Badeau counts only 30,000 men actually engaged, certainly, to be fair, we should leave out Pemberton's troops on parts of his line not assaulted, viz: In Smith's division, the brigades of Vaughan, Baldwin and the Mississippi State troops on the left, as also the brigades of Barton, Cummings and Reynolds, in Stephenson's Division, on the right of Pemberton's line, these troops making in the aggregate 8,562 men, were not assaulted, and were holding five miles of entrenchments. This number is obtained by deducting those actually engaged from 18,500 men, Pemberton had to man his exterior lines. The reports of killed, wounded and missing on the Union side, however, show that Sherman's corps (15th), of three divisions (nine brigades and five batteries), lost 858 men (*loss in every brigade*); that McPherson corps (17th), three divisions (eight brigades and thirteen batteries), lost 1,060 men (*loss in every brigade*); that McClelland's corps, three divisions (six brigades and nine batteries), lost 1,275 men (*loss in every brigade*); in front of Lee's brigade, more men than Lee had. It would seem from this that about all of Gen. Grant's army of more than 30,000 men was engaged in the assault. Gen. Grant had 45,000 men or thereabouts, or putting it by corps, divisions, brigades and batteries, he had in the assault three corps of nine divisions, or twenty-two brigades and thirty-one batteries, against Pemberton's two divisions (of two brigades each), and two brigades and five batteries, or in all, six brigades and one regiment (Waul's Legion), and five batteries.

To sum it up Grant had nearly 45,000 men and 31 batteries (186 guns), and Pemberton had 9,939 men and 33 guns on the fighting line, in the assault of May 22, 1863. Gen. Badeau also, in figuring up his side, against the Confederates, completely ignores Admiral Porter's great fleet of which Gen. Grant in his *Memoirs* says: "Without its assistance the campaign could not have been successfully made, with twice the number of men engaged. It could not have been made at all, in the way that it was, with any number of men, without such assistance." The time has now come, when absolute fairness should be followed, as the valor of the American soldier (Union and Confederate), is now the heritage of the American people. Everywhere we now love the great reunited American nation.

The issues of the past are dead. The results of the great war are accepted by all and everywhere, with that equanimity and character peculiar to the great American people.

Both sides fought to settle problems dearer to each other than their lives and property. Problems our forefathers could not settle, with their many compromises, and which were bequeathed to our generation to settle. We went at the settlement like true men, and with the great cost of blood and treasure on both sides, it would seem that no reasonable person could, for one moment, doubt the sincerity and patriotism of either side.

As stated, the Union army from May 22nd to July 4th, devoted itself to the slow operation of siege approaches, pushing up their troops by means of running saps, opening ditches and establishing new lines of rifle pits and road coverings, to protect and expedite those approaches; and when near the Confederate lines on June 25th, they began to explode their mines and blow up the forts. During this long period the batteries were put nearer and nearer, as also were the sharpshooters, and the firing was almost incessant, often lasting all night. The object seemed to be to worry out and exhaust the Confederates by constant vigil, and strain of the nervous system by continuous alarm. Everything, even the size of a man's hand, was shot at. With ample supplies of ammunition, the artillery kept up almost a steady fire, and gradually dismounted or disabled many of the Confederate guns which were visible. So incessant was the firing at times that it looked as if another assault was going to take place. This was particularly the case May 29th, and again June 19th, when the cannonading began at 3.30 a. m. before day, and lasted till 8 a. m. (four hours and a half.) On June 25th the first mine was exploded on the Jackson road under a redan. (Another mine was exploded under the same work July 1st). One gallant Union officer was killed in the breach trying to lead his men on, one brave Confederate officer was killed on almost the same spot trying to lead his men out over the breach.

On each occasion the men working in the Confederate counter mines were covered and killed and buried at the same time. Other mines were exploded at other points and by both sides.

The Union lines were strengthening every moment day and

night. July 4th, at many points, they were almost touching the Confederate works. The firing was almost incessant everywhere as more batteries were established, and on June 30th the Union entrenchments and batteries were twelve miles in length. Eighty-nine batteries had been completed, and manned with 220 guns, some of them siege guns, and in addition the navy had landed thirteen guns of the heaviest calibre along Gen. Grant's lines, making 233 guns on the exterior lines around the city. Gen. Grant's army had also been increased from 50,000 men with which he arrived before the city, until on June 30th, he had 75,648 men for duty, having received six divisions of reinforcements.

Long before this time, Gen. Grant had said: "Our position in front at Vicksburg has been made as strong against a sortie from the enemy, as his works were against an assault."

During all this time from May 22nd to July 4th, Admiral Porter's fleet, day and night, showered the largest projectiles into the city. He many times engaged the Confederate batteries on the water and river front, and the large mortars and guns had one or more shells in the air at almost all times, which burst inside the Confederate enclosure. There was not a quiet hour day or night, when any one could sleep without being disturbed by piercing shot or shrieking shell or sharpshooting. This lasted 47 days and nights.

It is difficult to ascertain from data in my possession what number of gun-boats was in the fleet of Admiral Porter, immediately before Vicksburg, during the siege. As there were boats below and above the city, they must have had over 200 heavy guns.

Secretary of the Navy (Mr. Wells), in his report to Congress, relative to the gun-boat fleet on the Mississippi River and its tributaries, 1863 and 1864, says that there were 100 vessels, carrying 462 guns, and says as to the fleet at Vicksburg: "Where main of the naval as well as the military forces were centered." Admiral Porter says: "During the siege 16,000 shells were thrown from the mortars, gunboats and naval batteries upon the city and its defenses before it capitulated." Which means that 340 shells from the largest naval guns were thrown into the city every day and night (24 hours). He also stated that the defense was a most desperate one.

Now let us go over on the Confederate side and see how things looked and went on there, after the assault of May 22, 1863. The repulse of that gallant and tremendous attack gave heart to the Confederate troops; they saw how careful the Federals were in their preparations and approaches, and recognized the fact that the slow process of a siege was to be the program. Everywhere the trenches were made more comfortable, and made wider, traverses were constructed to prevent the artillery from being enfiladed, as also in the rifle pits, wherever found necessary. Head logs and sand bags were used along the rifle pits to protect the heads of the men in the trenches, and arrangements made to shade the men with their blankets overhead, from the sun. Openings were made to the rear for convenience in getting back of the trenches, and to let water run off in case of rain.

The musket ammunition was short in percussion caps, but these were brought in by several parties who floated on logs through the Federal fleet. Several million caps were smuggled in the city in this way.

The first order issued was to husband ammunition and provisions. Troops were almost prohibited from firing artillery ammunition except in case of assault. The infantry was also restricted to one man about every ten steps, whose business it was to reply to the continuous fire of the enemy, and to shoot at any soldier or mark along their front. This was soon discovered by the Federals, and it made them much bolder. It proved to be a mistake, as the approaches could have been delayed by a free use of ammunition. Both ammunition and provisions were husbanded too much. I, as a general officer, protested against it as to ammunition,<sup>1</sup> and my protest is in the Record.

The troops, however, were vigilant and cheerful; obeyed all orders and were ready at all times, day and night, to repel any attack, and to work at night, in repairing the damage done the forts or trenches by the artillery fire during the day. This work, too, was continuous, for the constant hammering of the

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Federal artillery every day, did great damage, but all damage done in the day time was repaired at night, and the lines were kept in a good state of defense. The same men were in the trenches for the forty-seven days and nights; they had no relief whatever, as the force was scarcely sufficient to hold the lines, with a thin line of sharpshooters; they were necessarily in cramped positions; they could not leave their places long, even at night, owing to the close proximity of the enemy, and the continuous probability of assault, as the trenches and batteries got closer. At night, nearly the whole force was doing sentinel duty in three reliefs, one relief being ready to repel attack, while the other two reliefs were being aroused. An hour before day every morning the whole force were aroused, ready to repel any assault.

After about the tenth day of the siege, the men were put on half rations, and for the last third on still more reduced rations. Meat being scarce was husbanded and set aside, for a probable attempt to cut out, and have means to issue several days full rations. There was plenty of meal, peas, sugar, and tobacco, not very good food for such an emergency.

Towards the close of the siege this diet began to tell on the men, who were constantly exposed to the burning sun, damp fogs and heavy dews, with no shelter. When it rained the mud was deep in the trenches.

Their constant vigil day and night and the ceaseless fire of the artillery and the infantry towards the close of the siege finally affected the physical and mental condition of the men and tended to their exhaustion. The supply of water, too, was limited even for drinking purposes. There was little for washing, and in many commands the bodies of the men were full of vermin. But with all these difficulties the troops were cheerful to the close, and would have done good work had another assault been attempted. They confidently expected to be relieved from the outside. At the surrender there were 5,496 men under treatment, and many of those in the trenches were really unfit for duty.

To summarize the siege and defense of Vicksburg it appears that, when the city surrendered, Gen. Grant's army numbered 75,648 men and 220 guns. This, however, did not complete all of Gen. Grant's great resources. Capt. Henry G. Sharpe of the U.

S. army, in his prize essay in the "Journal of the Military Service Institution of the U. S.," January, 1869, says: "On the Mississippi river and its tributaries the U. S. Government owned 119 steamers, 305 barges and 109 coal floats, or 533 boats. Besides this, the quartermaster department had chartered for use on the river and its tributaries 1,750 steamers, making in all 2,283 vessels, mainly tributary to Gen. Grant's great Vicksburg campaign in 1863. No government had ever before brought such a great army and flotilla and gun-boat fleet, to bear mainly on one besieged city. These aids are not considered by the ordinary person in reading or hearing about Vicksburg, nor is the aid of the navy ordinarily borne in mind. Gen. Grant was one man who knew its importance, and was great enough to make it a matter of recognition. He says of Admiral Porter's aid: "Without its assistance the campaign could not have been successfully made with *twice the number of men engaged*. It could not have been made at all, in the way it was, with any number of men without such assistance."

Against these forces Gen. Pemberton's army, although it surrendered 29,491 men, at no time had 19,500 men for duty; and at the surrender, with its sick list, the force was very much smaller.

Take it all in all, the defense of the Confederate army did credit to the American soldier, so far as great gallantry, tenacity of purpose, hardships and sacrifices were concerned. It was in marked contrast with the army of Gen. Grant, except as to great gallantry and tenacity of purpose, which both armies had to an eminent degree. The 21st Iowa Regiment was proud of its record during the siege, and well it may be. During the entire siege of forty-seven days and nights, it was only *eight nights* (about one-sixth), in the rifle pits, and only *thirteen days* (about one-quarter), on the same duty. This I suppose was the average duty of the average Union regiment; for Gen. Grant's large army enabled him to relieve his troops frequently in the trenches. But how does this compare with his troops with full rations, and the Confederate troops, being constantly on duty in the rifle pits for forty-seven days and nights, on less than half rations most of the time, and that one-half ill assorted and inferior. Gen. Grant's troops, too, were more than one-half their time out of fire, not subject to the constant nervous strain

to which the Confederates were subjected. They could also take all necessary exercise and keep their bodies well cleaned.

In all the siege (47 days and nights), the Confederates held their entire line of entrenchments, not a single fort or line being captured from them and held, and at last the surrender was mainly decided on because of the weak physical condition of the men in the trenches, and the large number sick, rather than from inability to hold the line, for at all exposed points interior lines had been arranged.





## THE BLACK AND TAN CONVENTION.

By J. L. POWER.<sup>1</sup>

By way of preface to the topic assigned me I will briefly sketch the process of reconstruction in Mississippi for the years preceding 1868.

When the civil war ended, General Charles Clark was Governor of Mississippi. Maimed and crippled for life by terrible wounds in battle, and unable to render further service in the field, the people told him in October, 1863, that they wanted him as Governor for the balance of the war term. He was the worthy successor of John J. Pettus. Both will be remembered as "the war Governors of Mississippi." Both were typical representatives of the "Old South"—uncompromising advocates and defenders of its social and civil conditions and traditions, and of its political doctrines. Both had the unlimited confidence and love of the people whom they so faithfully served in those troublous times.

The headquarters of State Government in 1864 were at Ma-

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<sup>1</sup> Col. J. L. Power was born in Ireland in 1834. In his sixteenth year he came to the United States. For four years he lived in the town of Lockport in Western New York. He then went to New Orleans, where he remained only a few months, removing finally (April, 1855) to Jackson, Miss., where he has since resided. At the outbreak of the War between the States, he left his publishing business in which he was then engaged and entered the Confederate army as a private in Company A., of Wither's regiment. He was in the siege of Vicksburg. In 1864 he was made superintendent of army records, with the rank of colonel, and was engaged in the duties of this office at Richmond when the city was captured on April 2, 1865. At the end of the conflict he returned to Mississippi and was elected secretary of the convention called by Provisional Governor Sharkey to adopt a constitution. Shortly afterwards he helped establish the *Mississippi Standard*, which was later (1866) merged into the *Clarion*, and finally (1888) into the *Clarion-Ledger*. After having served as secretary of more organizations than has any other man in the State, Col. Power was elected Secretary of the State by the citizens of Mississippi in 1895, and re-elected in 1899. He is especially interested in Mississippi history and has devoted much time to collecting and publishing facts pertaining to the War between the States. He is a member of the Mississippi Historical Commission, created by a recent act of the Legislature. For a more detailed account of his life, see Goodspeed's *Historical and Biographical Memoirs of Mississippi*.—EDITOR.

com, where the Legislature met in August. When the collapse came, Governor Clark issued his proclamation dated Meridian, May 6th, convening the Legislature on the 18th of that month, and giving such timely advice to the people as the situation demanded, closing thus: "Let all citizens fearlessly adhere to the fortunes of the State, aid the returned soldiers to obtain civil employment, maintain law and order, condemn all twelfth-hour vaporers, and meet stern facts with fortitude and common sense."

Although the members had less than two weeks notice, there was a very general attendance. Soon after the usual exchange of courtesies between the two houses, a semi-official intimation of certain telegrams from Washington looking to the arrest of the entire Legislature, had been given out by Col. Osborne, commanding the brigade of colored troops that then garrisoned Jackson. This was very considerate and kind in him, but the members did not stop to give him a vote of thanks, or even to adjourn sine die, or wait for a benediction, or farewell remarks from the presiding officers; but in an astonishingly short time they got a move on them, and in the direction of the highways leading out of Jackson. Regular train service had not been resumed, but they decided that the roads were good, and as they marched homeward, they could meditate on the past and speculate on the future.

If there were any journals kept of that "extraordinary" session, they were not published. I have the only documents in existence relating to that session. They are quite elaborate, and were prepared in advance of the meeting. The session was continued just long enough to read and adopt them, and to be signed by Wm. Yerger, as President of the Senate, and Lock E. Houston, as Speaker of the House. These documents included a joint resolution empowering the Governor to send a delegation to consult with President Johnson as to a plan for restoring the State of Mississippi to harmonious relations with the Federal Government, on such a basis as will tend to perpetuate the liberty and prosperity of the American people; a joint resolution relative to the assassinaion of President Lincoln and the attempt to assassinate Secretary Seward, and especially repudiating the idea that President Davis or Hon. Jacob Thompson

had been implicated, as charged by the Northern press, in an act of such criminal atrocity.

On the 22nd of May, Governor Clark commissioned Messrs. William Yerger, William L. Sharkey and Thomas J. Wharton as commissioners, and also appointed Col. Jones S. Hamilton to accompany them as their secretary. Gen. Wharton could not go.

Governor Clark was permitted to occupy the Executive office only a few days longer. About 10 o'clock one morning a squad of armed soldiers entered the Governor's office, and the officer in command, after making known his orders, demanded that the office be at once vacated. Having received a hint of what was about to take place, I made it convenient to have business in the Governor's office. Ex-Attorney General Wharton and Col. James D. Stewart were also present. I shall never forget the look of indignation, scorn and contempt expressed on the countenance of Governor Clark, and, after he got on his crutches, his vigorous but dignified protest against the whole proceeding. Yielding to force, he at once left the office, and it was immediately occupied by Gen. P. Jos. Osterhaus and his military staff.

A few days thereafter, Governor Clark was arrested, hurried off to Fort Pulaski and confined in a casemate.

President Johnson had appointed Judge William L. Sharkey, Provisional Governor. He issued his proclamation for a convention to be composed of delegates loyal to the United States. It met on the 14th of August. Hon. Jacob Shall Yerger, of Washington, was chosen President; J. L. Power, of Hinds, Secretary. It was composed of seventy Whigs and twenty-eight Democrats, the best type of Mississippi citizenship. Its expenses were met by a levy instanter of \$2.00 per bale on all cotton in the State.

After a brief session of ten days, the constitution was amended so as to adapt it to the new order of things; the secession ordinance and all obnoxious military ordinances and measures were repealed, the abolition of slavery was recognized, and the guarantee given that it should not again exist in the State. A certified copy of the constitution was sent to Washington.

Pursuant to an ordinance of the convention the Legislature

met in special session October 15th. Benjamin G. Humphreys was declared elected Governor, and Judge Sharkey, after administering the oath of office to his duly elected successor, retired from a most difficult and trying position, but the peculiar duties of which no citizen could more kindly or more acceptably have discharged. It was most fortunate for our State that during that and several succeeding years such conservative, influential and honored citizens as William L. Sharkey and Robert A. Hill were recognized and respected by the military and civil powers that lorded it over "God's heritage" in those evil days. Judge Sharkey entered into rest on the 29th day of April, 1873, and Judge Hill is waiting to cross over the river, and, when he reaches the other shore, to hear the greeting, "come up higher."

The Legislature met again January 21, 1867, and much of the session of thirty days was devoted to regulating "freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes." It was very much against the grain to recognize in our statutes our former slaves as full-fledged American citizens; and hence it was not surprising that the joint committee on State and Federal Relations, of which the very conservative Hon. H. F. Simrall was chairman, recommended that the Legislature decline to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. This report was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted; and an expression in the report that it was beneath the dignity of the State to hold any communication with Secretary of State Seward on the subject, received special applause.

In the summer of 1868, the Republicans nominated a full State ticket, with B. B. Eggleston, for Governor, and the Democrats nominated a ticket with Benjamin G. Humphreys for Governor; Charles E. Hooker, for Attorney General; C. A. Brougher, Secretary of State, and other worthy associates. General McDowell, on assuming command of the district, removed Humphreys and Hooker on the 15th of June, 1868, as "impediments to reconstruction," and appointed Adelbert Ames and one Jasper Myers in their stead. Governor Humphreys was ejected by military force from the Executive office and his family unceremoniously ousted from the Executive Mansion. Lieutenant Bache, with a squad of armed soldiers, marched up to the front entrance of the Mansion, lined his men on the sides of the walk-way, and notified Mrs. Humphreys that he

must have immediate possession; and the family at once moved out between the armed files.

It was not sufficient that the constitution was so amended as to make it "loyal" in letter and spirit; that William L. Sharkey and James L. Alcorn—both conservative Old Line Whigs and ardent Union men, had been elected by a Democrat Legislature to the United States Senate; or that James T. Harrison, A. M. West, E. G. Peyton, R. A. Pinson and A. E. Reynolds—all good and capable men—had been elected in their districts to Congress. All this was for naught. The constitution was not approved, and they were not seated. The Legislature had committed the unpardonable crime of unanimously refusing to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment; and this was made the chief of many pretexts for such radical methods of reconstructing the State as to place it, permanently they hoped, under Republican control. The machinery of the party was in successful operation in most of the counties, and "loyal leagues" and other "schools of instruction" were in full blast for the purpose of teaching the negro that the carpet bagger and the scallawager were his only true friends. And it was not hard to so convince them. They still had respect, and in many cases real affection for their former masters; but if they listened to their advice, they seldom heeded it. They saw through a glass darkly; their vision was cleared by events that soon followed; and to them we are largely indebted for the defeat of the infamously proscriptive features of the constitution framed by the Black and Tan Convention.

It is of that delectable, malodorous conglomeration of Solomons and sages we will now speak.

Pursuant to the reconstruction act of Congress, of March 2, 1867, General E. O. C. Ord, commanding Fourth Military District, issued General Order No. 19 for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention, and so apportioned the delegates as to insure a "trooly loyal" majority. In General Orders No. 42, dated December, 1867, he announced the result, and each delegate was notified that the official copy of the order sent him "will constitute his certificate of election."

The act of Congress provided for a registration of voters, with iron-clad oath test, the voters to say whether they wanted

a convention, and at the same time to vote for delegates on the basis of a prescribed apportionment.

The total white population in 1867 was 343,460; total black population, 381,258. The registered vote, as declared by Gen. Ord, December 16, 1867, was 139,327. Of this number, Gen. Gillem reported to President Grant that 63,674 failed to vote. There were 76,016 votes cast on the subject of holding a convention—69,739 for and 6,277 against.

The Convention met in Representatives Hall on the 7th of January, 1868. It represented all shades of color and "previous condition of servitude." There was Castello, of Adams; Jehial Railsback, of Bolivar; Henry Musgrove, of Clarke; Charles Caldwell and Henry Mayson, of Hinds; H. W. Barry, of Holmes; Abel Anderson, of Jefferson; B. B. Eggleston, of Lowndes; J. Aaron Moore, of Lauderdale (now a good citizen of Jackson); Henry W. Warren, of Leake; W. Ben Cunningham, of Madison; A. R. Howe and U. Ozanne, of Panola; Woodmanse, of Monroe; Mygatt, McKee and Stringer, of Warren; Combash and Stiles, of Washington; A. T. Morgan and Charles W. Clark, of Yazoo; Robert J. Alcorn, of Yalobusha; Wm. H. Gibbs, of Wilkinson, and others of more or less note on the Republican side.

Of the old citizen delegates, we recall Neilson, of Amite; Niles and Conley, of Attala; Stovall, Johnson and Hemingway, of Carroll; Peyton, of Copiah; Vaughn and McCutchen, of Lafayette; Gaither and Walker, of Lee; Watson and Compton, of Marshall; Nelson and Stricklin, of Tippah.

A tabular view of the convention, compiled by the writer at the time, shows that it was composed of 100 delegates, of whom 16 were colored. There were 67 unadulterated Republicans, 2 Democrats, 8 Conservatives, 1 Anti-Radical, 2 opposed to Radicals of any kind, 1 for Grant, 3 Reconstructionists, 1 Union, 2 Constitutional Union, 2 Union Conservatives, 1 Constitution and Laws of the United States, 2 Henry Clay Whigs, 4 Old Whigs, 2 None. Sixty-seven were natives of Southern States, including the 16 colored delegates, 24 of Northern States, 5 of Foreign Countries, not known, 4.

Alston Mygatt was elected temporary President and made such a speech as might have been expected from one of his

devoutly Republican antecedents. He said they met to "lay aside all malice, undue partisan feelings and form a constitution that shall render equal and exact justice to all."

B. B. Eggleston, of Lowndes, was elected President, and Thad. P. Sears, of Adams, Secretary. J. W. C. Watson, of Marshall, received 33 votes for President.

One of the first items of business was to fix the "compensation." The president, B. B. Eggleston, was allowed \$20.00 per day, or \$2,580.00 for session; each member \$10.00, or \$1,290.00 for session; reporter, \$15.00; secretary, \$15.00, and each assistant, \$10.00; sergeant-at-arms, \$10.00; chaplain, \$10.00, and the other officers and employes in same liberal proportion—the pay of members alone aggregating \$128,710, and the total expense, more than a quarter million dollars.

Dr. Compton, a member of the committee, dissented, declaring that the body was unconstitutionally convened, and was not competent to make amendments to the Constitution, and the members were therefore not entitled to any compensation whatever. Dr. Compton, by the way, and Capt. Stricklin, were the recognized leaders of the minority. It was Dr. Compton who referred, in a discussion—to one of the delegates as the "saddle colored individual from Hinds," a distinction by which he was afterwards known.

One of the first communications addressed to the convention was from the Superintendent of the City Gas Works, who demanded that a deposit be made sufficient to cover the amount of gas that might be consumed by the convention, or some personal security given.

The convention resolved that it would not consume any coal gas, and that it could produce all that was necessary for daylight consumption, and that committees who used lights at their rooms should be "compensated" therefor. But the most extravagant and reckless appropriations were made in other directions—for instance, \$28,518.75 for publishing its proceedings in four newspapers—The State Journal, Vicksburg Republican, Meridian Chronicle and Mississippi Pilot. Of this sum James Dugan, the convention printer got \$13,924.00 and a vote of thanks. The proceedings and debates were fully published in each paper—seventy-five cents per square being the "compensation."



The convention continued in session from January 7th to May 18th, or one hundred and fourteen days of actual session, and adjourned to the call of the "Committee of Five" in the event the constitution adopted should be rejected by the people.

The conclave is thus briefly but most graphically described by Major Barksdale in a chapter contributed by him to a volume on Reconstruction published some years ago:

"The convention dragged its slow length through many weary months. Its members lived in a state of luxury unknown to their previous habits. Its cost aggregated nearly a quarter of a million dollars which they extorted from the impoverished white people at the point of the bayonet wielded by the military chiefs who were holding them in subjection. Many of the members had no local habitation in the counties they pretended to represent, nor employment except as law makers for the people among whom they did not reside, and over whom they had come to rule. When the labors of this motley assembly came to an end, the instrument which they called a Constitution proved to be worthy of its parentage: 'A league with death and a covenant with hell.' If it had been permitted to stand as it came from the hands of its authors, it would have permanently disfranchised many of the intelligent taxpayers and best citizens of the white race. It was a cunningly devised scheme to create a multiplicity of offices, and to make the State government a close corporation for the benefit of the cormorants. It professed to 'establish justice,' and yet it would have excluded nearly one-half the intelligent white citizens of the State from participation in the government other than bearing its burdens.

"It pretended that it was intended to 'maintain order,' and yet it contained the germs of inevitable disorder. It professed that it was designed to 'perpetuate liberty' and yet it would have practically enslaved a large number of the free-born white people of the State. It went to the extreme of disfranchising those who had charitably contributed to the relief of sick and suffering Confederate soldiers. The father who had furnished food and raiment to his son serving in the Confederate army was made to pay the penalty of political death unless he would purge himself of the imputed crime by taking the oath that he had not

been guilty of it. The colored man, who had voluntarily remained at home, and raised corn and meat for the subsistence of the Southern soldiers, could not have voted without incurring the penalty affixed to the offence."

Pursuant to the Act of Congress of March 23, 1867, the Constitution was submitted by proclamation of the President, to the people for ratification, and it was rejected by a vote of 63,860 against, 56,231 for. It was again submitted, by proclamation of President Grant, dated July 14, 1869, who submitted to a separate vote the following sections and parts of sections:

"That I am not disfranchised in any of the provisions of the acts known as the reconstruction acts of the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congress, and that I admit the political and civil equality of all men, so help me God; provided, that if Congress should at any time remove the disabilities of any persons disfranchised in said reconstruction acts of the said Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congress, and the Legislature of this State shall concur therein, then so much of this oath as refers to the reconstruction acts, shall not be required of such persons so pardoned, and entitles him to be registered.

"No person shall be eligible to office of profit or trust, civil or military, in this State, who was a member of the Legislature that voted for the call of the convention that passed the ordinance of secession, or as a delegate to any convention, or voted for or signed any ordinance of secession, or who gave voluntary aid, countenance or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility to the United States, or who accepted, or attempted to exercise the functions of any office, civil or military, under any authority or pretended government, power, or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto, except all persons who aided reconstruction by voting for this convention, or have continuously advocated the assemblage of this convention, and shall continue in good faith to advocate the same; but the Legislature may remove such disabilities, provided, nothing in this section, except voting for, or signing the ordinance of secession, shall be so construed as to exclude from office the private soldiers of the late so-called Confederate States army.

"The credit of the State shall not be pledged or loaned in aid

of any person, or association, or corporation, nor shall the State hereafter become a stockholder in any corporation or association.

"That I have never, as a member of any convention voted for or signed any ordinance of secession; that I have never been a member of the State Legislature that voted for a call for any convention that passed any such ordinance. The above oath shall also be taken by all city and county officials before entering on their duties, and by all other State officers not included in the above provisions."

These several clauses were rejected, with the exception of the one that the "credit of the State shall not be pledged," etc., which was ratified by a vote of 70,427 against 20,834. The Constitution, with these exceptions, was ratified by a vote of 113,735 to 995, at the election held November 30 and December 1, 1869.

The Democratic State Executive Committee had issued a stirring address in which special attention was called to the importance of voting for the clause in reference to pledging the credit of the State, and the vote thereon saved the State from the bankruptcy that would have otherwise followed.

President Grant, in submitting the Constitution, struck out sections 4 to 14 of the accompanying ordinance, five of which sections recognized and continued the celebrated Committee of Five.

That the people of Mississippi should have lived and somewhat prospered for twenty-four years under a constitution conceived and framed in such a spirit is strong proof of their conservatism and patience.

That the Constitution adopted in 1890 is a vast improvement on the one that it supersedes is universally admitted. While assuring beyond all doubt the permanent supremacy of the white race in Mississippi, it guarantees to every citizen, of every color and of every political and religious creed, the amplest enjoyment of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

At the close of a session of one hundred and fourteen working days, President Eggleston made a farewell address, in which he said: "Gentlemen, I believe the harvest is already ripe." But the harvest was one of misrule and robbery during the six long

years that followed. In his speech in the Senate, on the 24th of last month, Senator McEnery, of Louisiana, said:

"The recollection of that period is like a hell-born dream and one is almost unnerved at the mention. It is the darkest and most shameful period in the history of the human race. The wonder now is that by force it was not terminated by an outraged people."

But the veil was lifted in 1875, when the "Arabs folded their tents and stole away," and the dawn of home rule and severe economy was ushered in and continued under the benign administration of John Marshall Stone. As in his present exalted station,\* so it was then, "the man and the occasion met."

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\*President of A. and M. College.



## PLANTATION LIFE IN MISSISSIPPI BEFORE THE WAR.

BY DUNBAR ROWLAND.<sup>1</sup>

In this restless, hurrying, prosaic time the younger generation of Mississippi in their eager desire for material progress and prosperity are apt to forget the good old times before the war when our fathers lived and loved and died. If I can present a pleasing picture of plantation life in Mississippi before the war, and tell of a time that may be said to belong to memory and romance this attempt to preserve something of the manners, customs and deeds of our fathers will not be in vain.

The charms of the planter's life have been pictured by the poets of all the ages with touches of wondrous beauty and exquisite finish. Its genial labors, its dignity, its repose and its independence have been presented to us by the greatest of earth. Some of the most beautiful illustrations in Homer are taken from the husbandman and his fertile fields. Who is more

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<sup>1</sup> Dunbar Rowland was born at Oakland, Miss., August 25, 1864. Dr. W. B. Rowland, his father, was a Virginian; his mother was Mary J. Bryan, of Tennessee. Mr. Rowland was prepared for college at Oakland Academy. He entered the A. and M. College of Mississippi, in 1882, and was graduated in 1886 with the B. S. degree. The summer after graduation he began the study of law in the office of Judge R. H. Golladay, an eminent lawyer of Coffeeville, the friend and associate of Senator Walthall. In September, 1886, he entered the Law Department of the University of Mississippi, from which institution he received the degree of LL. B., in June, 1888. In the same year he was the orator of the Alumni Association of the A. and M. College, and delivered the oration at the June celebration of the Association. After graduation Mr. Rowland opened a law office at Memphis, Tenn. Four years later he returned to Mississippi and resumed the practice of his profession at Coffeeville. As a student Mr. Rowland gave as much time to the cultivation of polemics, literature, history, and composition as his other duties would allow, thus laying the foundation for the literary and historical work that has since occupied the time he could spare from his professional duties. He is especially interested in the social, industrial and political problems that are peculiar to the South, and has done much to popularize the study of Mississippi history by his numerous interesting historical and biographical contributions which have appeared from time to time in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* and in the *Atlanta Constitution*.—EDITOR.

wonderfully eloquent than Hesiod when he dwells upon the charms of rural life? The sweet Bard of Mantua poured forth his latest, sweetest strains in picturing the homely joys of the farmer, of whom Goldsmith says:

"His best companions, innocence and health,  
And his best riches, ignorance of wealth."

The history of all the ages tells us of the wonderful influence of the planters of the world upon the character, habits and ideas of society at large. In every land and clime the tillers of God-given soil, or those whose interests lie in the lands, who are far removed from the corrupting and demoralizing influences of life in our great cities are the firm bulwarks of the State and the pillars of sound and true government. The honest farmer is never a radical. He is patient and patriotic, and only rises in his might when wrong has overleaped all barriers, when hope has gone from him, and when to endure longer would be a crime. The Romans cherished the cultivation of the soil as coming from the gods. The leaders of those grand legions whose mighty march shook the world were taken from the farms of Italy. Regulus the Consul, who preferred death to a breach of faith, left the harvest field to save his country from the conquering march of Carthage. Cincinnatus, the savior of Rome in her darkest and most trying hour, was called from the plow to support the tottering fortunes of the mistress of the world. Scipio left the fireside of a country home to stay the victorious march of Hannibal, who threatened the very existence of the eternal city. The noblest virtues of men have always been, and always will be found among those who depend upon the bounties of nature for their daily bread. Among such men and women can always be found manly independence, pure patriotism, and undying devotion to liberty and love of country, and there will be preserved throughout every vicissitude those virtues upon which all true progress must depend. It is the purpose of this paper to draw a pen picture of a phase of Southern life that gave to Mississippi and to the world a type of man who should excite the admiration and love of all succeeding generations, and if the picture appears too partial to those who cannot understand the conditions existing in Mississippi before the war, it will appeal to those who by association know and appreciate them. The object of all historical investigation should be

to elicit truth, therefore facts are to be preferred to theories, sincere convictions rather than display and empty decoration. The writer has a heartfelt conviction that the chivalrous, courtly, courageous Southern gentleman of the ante-bellum period was the grandest embodiment of the most superb manhood that ever graced a forum or died upon a battlefield. There was a time when history was supposed to be a record of emperors and kings, and their victorious wars and conquests; that idea may be termed the progenitor of history. The history of to-day is the record of the lives, trials, development, advances and progress of a people. Thoughtful men and women everywhere are beginning to see and admire the true grandeur and nobility that lies back of the history of Southern life. They feel and know the fearful problems of the past, and appreciate those of the present, and those that lie in the future. We can sympathize with our fathers in the great problems which they were called upon to face and solve. The younger generation of every section of our great Republic should know the South as it was, not as it was said to be. When our friends and brothers of the North and West come to understand the troubles and sorrows and problems of the Southern slave-holder then indeed through love and sympathy can we become a united country. Then will come the time when they can applaud us in saying

"Land of the South—imperial land,  
How proud thy mountains rise!  
How sweet thy scenes on every hand!  
But not for this—oh! not for these  
I love thy fields to roam:  
Thou hast a dearer spell for me,  
Thou art my native home."

There is a true and bright side as well as one that is false and dark to every great social question, and it is admitted in the outset that it is the purpose of the writer to cast aside the evil and base, and to deal only with the good and the true as it existed in the social, moral and intellectual life of the cotton planters of Mississippi before the war. It is admitted now that the state of servitude upon which the labor system of the State rested at that time had much in it that was cruel, revolting and oppressive, and it is also true that it had far more that was humane, generous, loving and sympathetic.

From 1817 to 1861 Mississippi was a garden for the cultivation of all that was grand in oratory, true in science, sublime



and beautiful in poetry and sentiment and enlightened and profound in law and statesmanship. It was a land of brave men, fair women and eloquent statesmen. The snow-white cliffs of England's rock-bound coast tower heavenward, and with a stern moral sublimity all their own gather upon their cloud-capped summits the suns rays and reflect them back upon the dark and stagnant waters at their base converting them into a sea of molten gold. Even so Mississippi's immortal orators and statesmen have gathered up and reflect back upon a waiting world the lore of a hundred generations that falls like a sheen of glory over the sea of human mind, lighting it up with the most brilliant coruscations. King cotton reigned supreme in Mississippi before the war. Its cultivation at that time by slave labor gave better returns than any other industry in which planters could engage. Commission merchants in New Orleans, Memphis and Mobile were eager for the business of wealthy Mississippi planters, and were always ready with money to secure it. The demand for cotton was greater than the supply and the prices paid for the precious product of the delta and hill lands of the State returned a handsome profit to the producer. To one who views the boundless Mississippi cotton plantation separate and apart from its commercial or valuable side it is full of wondrous beauty and poetry. Nothing in nature is more beautiful than were the cotton fields of the State during the picking season before the war. Imagine if you will a boundless expanse of gently undulating land clad and covered over in cotton plants of a deeper green than the white-crested emerald waves of the sea. They are tossed into waves of purple, emerald and white by the winds, and the mingling of golden sunlight presents a beautiful panorama of ever-changing colors. As you gaze on this picture of natural beauty the ear catches the sound of strange, wierd, wonderful music, and you hear the negro melodies of the South in all their purity and sweetness. The dress and bearing of the ebony cotton pickers as they gather the bursting balls into long white sacks made on the plantation for the purpose is both picturesque and pleasing. The men are dressed in white domestic shirts, blue cotton trousers and wide brim wool hats. The women are clothed in cotton plaids, and their heads are gorgeous in the many-

colored oriental turbans that were peculiar to the Southern slave women.

The squad of cotton pickers is under the control of a trusted and faithful old slave, who has won the confidence of his "Old Marster" by long years of faithfulness. The laborers or hands are provided with large home-made white oak baskets, placed at the ends of the cotton rows, into which the cotton sacks are to be emptied when filled. The picking begins. A desire to excel gradually pervades the pickers, and it is urged on by the diplomatic flattery of the leader. As the work proceeds the peculiar melody that seems to be in every negro's soul bursts forth, and there is an actual joy in the sound. Men and women who sing while they toil are happy. The black toilers were happy in their labor. Their humble and simple lives were free from care. All their wants were supplied, and they were contented and satisfied. The direct management of every large Mississippi plantation before the war was intrusted to an overseer. His house was built in the center of the "quarters" or homes of the plantation slaves, and it was large, comfortable and well built. The handsome home of the wealthy planter was called by the negroes "the white folks house." The homes of the slaves were arranged on streets leading from the overseer's house as a common center. Every house had a large front room and a small shed room. The slave family always had a garden spot given for their own use and cultivation. They were taught the pride of ownership, and many families beautified their little homes with running vines and flowers. Their food was issued to them weekly from the big "smoke house" that was always to be found on every Mississippi plantation. Their food was plain, wholesome and substantial, and consisted of bread, meat, rice, vegetables, molasses and milk. The morning call to work was made by ringing an immense bell that was placed in the overseer's yard. The work of the day was arranged by the overseer on the night before, and each squad of laborers was placed under the control of the older and more reliable men called "drivers." The name sounds harsh to us now, but the drivers were selected for their industry and faithfulness and their treatment of their fellow-slaves was just and humane. The work of the day began always with sunrise. At

the noon hour the ringing of the plantation bell recalled the workers from the fields, and dinner was served to them. They were allowed two hours for rest after dinner. The day's labor came to an end at sundown. A visit to the "quarters" after dark would prove to the most unbelieving that the slaves were happy and contented. The Southern slave was joyous and mirth-loving. His hours of idleness were devoted to the rude pleasures suited to his nature. The love of music was universal among them, the twang of the banjo and the sound of the fiddle mingled with the joyous laugh of the dancers was nightly to be heard in the quarters. The people of Mississippi inherited the slavery system from a generation of noble men and women. It came to them through inheritance, and it was confirmed and sanctioned by a constitution that they honored and loved. Under the direction and protection of the fundamental-laws of their country they had invested their wealth in slaves, and they could not be expected to give up their property on a sentimental demand that came from a section of the country that knew nothing of the practical results of the system. They were deprived of their property without due process of law, and no thoughtful mind can approve it.

They knew the horrors that would result from emancipation, and they foresaw the terrible trials that such a policy would bring upon them. Their homes, firesides and their very civilization were at stake. Is it to be wondered at that they refused to engulf themselves and their posterity into a state of ruin, degradation and despair? Let me give you the testimony of one of the true and noble women of the South, Mrs. Victoria V. Clayton, the widow of Gen. Henry D. Clayton, of the Confederate army, and author of "White and Black Under the Old Regime," as to the view taken of slavery in the South before the war. I take great pleasure in acknowledging many valuable suggestions from that simple, pure and true narrative. Mrs. Clayton says: "We regarded slavery in a patriarchal sense. We were all one family, and as master and mistress, heads of this family, we were responsible to the God we worshiped for these creatures to a great extent, and we felt our responsibility and cared for their souls and bodies. As to their religious training, every Sunday morning the mothers brought their little ones up to see me. Then I would satisfy myself as to the care they gave

them, whether they had received a bath and suitable clothing for the holy day. Later the larger children presented themselves to be taught the catechism. The adults were permitted to attend the different churches in town as they pleased, but when the sun hid herself behind the western hills, all were compelled to return home to feed and care for the horses and cows. When the evening meal was over my dining room was in readiness for the reception of all the grown members of the family. They gathered there and took their respective seats. They were taught the creed of the Holy Apostolic Church, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; that is, all that could be taught, for some of them could never be taught to repeat them, but understood the meaning sufficiently to lead a right life. Sometimes I read a short sermon to them. They sang hymns, and closed with prayer to our Heavenly Father." That is a beautiful and touching recital of the relation of the master and slave as it existed in Mississippi before the war. It should silence and disarm all cruel and unjust criticism, and touch every heart with sympathy and charity for a state of life that in after years brought so much suffering and distress.

Many of the stately and beautiful plantation homes of the old Mississippi aristocracy still stand to bring forth pleasant memories of the past. They are to be seen here and there as loving reminders of all that was true, noble and gentle in the lives of their princely owners. How beautiful they seem as they stand in the solitude of a brilliant and stormy past. They were looked upon by the lordly masters of the "Old South" as blessed and favored homes in a land where intellect, wealth, happiness and good breeding reigned supreme. How stately and grand they look, massive, graceful and enduring, they seem to be grim sentinels to remind a new generation of a noble and heroic past. There is a sorrow and pathos about them that tenderly appeals to the new life and new impulses that everywhere surround them. Many of them were built long years before the war. As one of our most brilliant writers has expressed it: "They have known the fiery scourge of battle. They have been deluged with war. They have been baptized in sorrows, some of which the Northern homes have never known—may never know, please God. And some of them have seen common sorrows, the anguish of bereaved motherhood, the agony of widow-

hood, the grief of the orphan. And the sorrow that is common makes tender the bitterness of the fierce, cruel past, and the kisses that rained on the faces of the dead turn into caresses of consolation for the living." One of these grand old homes is beautiful, stately Anandale, the ante-bellum home of the Johnsons. It stands near old Livingston in Madison county, and is a proud monument of the time when it was the home of culture, refinement and wealth. Around the little village of Livingston were clustered some of the largest and wealthiest estates of that time. It was there that John Robinson lived in princely style and dispensed true loving hospitality to the beauty and culture of the State. His beautiful home was called "Cottage Place," and it still stands as a silent, sorrowful reminder of golden days that are forever gone. It was a true, typical home of a wealthy cultured Mississippi planter, and the lavish, courtly and kindly hospitality of Mr. Robinson made it the center of a highly cultured circle of men and women. The prevailing type of the Mississippi planter in those days was proud, big-hearted, broad, liberal and brave. The men of that time had and enjoyed the good things of life, their lives were worth living, and good cheer, brightness and good humor came with their coming. A fine brand of Kentucky whiskey was always on the sideboard of every gentleman's house, and it must be admitted that it was one of his chief delights. He loved a mint julip as the gods of the Greeks are said to have loved the famous nectar of Olympus, and he looked upon those tasteless mortals who regarded it with disapproval as worse than barbarians. The Mississippi planter had the opinion that Kentucky Bourbon, with the mellowing touch of twenty years upon it, was stored up mountain sunshine to flood the soul of man with joy that no tongue could utter, no pen portray or painting picture. There is yet lingering among us the same idea entertained by our fathers. Was this love for the good things of life a weakness? If it was the Mississippi planter was magnificent and great in every thing, great in his strength, great in his weakness. There was nothing small, cowardly or weak about him. When he joined in the morning prayers of his church, it was with a reverential, devout and penitent spirit. He looked upon every true woman of his acquaintance as a God-sent ministering angel, and no one was

allowed in his presence to even intimate that a woman was not everything that was true, pure and lovely. He was the ablest expounder of a constitutional democracy, and yet he belonged to an aristocracy the most exclusive that America has ever seen. Was he a bundle of contradictions? His character was well rounded and consistent throughout. First of all he loved his wife and children and his ancestors. His home and friends had the next place in his heart. He loved his State with an eastern devotion. That he loved his country is attested by the blood that he shed in the Land of the Montezumas in defense of its flag. He was much given to reading the wonderful romances of Sir Walter Scott and the pitiless poetry of Lord Byron. He had a deep and abiding reverence for the Bible, but his knowledge of it was more theoretical than practical, and its perusal was left to his wife and children. In conducting the details of business he was not a success. He took a small part in the actual management of his farming operations. He was generally lord of all he surveyed as he stood and gazed on his beautiful cotton fields whitening in the morning light. He lived near to nature and his soul was in harmony with the peaceful rest and joy of a God-favored land. He associated labor and slavery together, hence he looked upon physical toil as a degradation and beneath the dignity of a gentleman. He modeled his life after that of the Virginia planter of the old school, and religiously followed the teachings of the old feudal aristocracy of England.

In the Mississippi cotton planter the honor and simplicity of the plowman was combined with the grace, culture and accomplishments of the scholar. The pleasures of the library were shared by every member of his household. A taste for reading, research and original thought was instilled into the minds of the young. The father of the household was generally a university man, and his early training was supplemented by an extensive course of reading in after years. He had a passionate fondness for statecraft, oratory and politics. He knew the letters of Madison in the *Federalist* as few men have since known them. He delighted in the orations of Demosthenes, Cicero, Pitt, Burke, Henry and Hayne. He took his opinions of public policy from Jefferson, Jackson and Calhoun. His

chosen and beloved political leaders were Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs and Judah P. Benjamin. He looked upon Virginia as the Mahommedan looks upon Mecca, and thought that the Mother of Presidents should forever guide the destiny of his country. He was much given to political discussion; he was always right, sir, and his adversary was always wrong. What was his was the best the world afforded, what belonged to others was theirs without envy on his part. He was high strung, passionate and quick to take offense. He was a man of superb courage, unwavering integrity and unsullied honor. May the day never come when the sons and daughters of Mississippi will cease to love the memories of the superb, gallant and heroic men of a golden past. We are willing to be judged by them. Their names and fame will endure and grow brighter as the years come and go.

The Mississippi cotton planter had a genius for hospitality; his home was constantly crowded with guests, and they were made to feel that their coming was a pleasure and their departure a sorrow. The answer given to Major Welsh by Dr. Cary on being asked if he knew where a night's lodging could be found, as given by Thomas Nelson Page in Red Rock, shows the true spirit of generous hospitality that prompted every Southern gentleman. The genial Doctor's answer was "Why, at every house in the State, sir." The social side of life on a Mississippi plantation was marked by gentle breeding and courtesy. The young women of the household were taught to be gracious, kind and agreeable to every one, and in their relations with young men they were guided by the strictest rules of propriety. The young men were dashing, proud and gallant, and in their relations with the gentler sex they were as chivalrous as the Knights of the Round Table.

In his love and reverence for woman the Southern gentleman has never had an equal. There was nothing heartless or hypocritical about the social life of the Mississippi planters. Every feeling expressed was genuine and heart-felt, and there was a ring of sincerity about it that attested its truth. The young women of the household were prepared for college by a governess who lived in the house and made a part of the family. The boys were prepared for some high school by a tutor, and

from the high school, which was usually in charge of a clergyman, they went to the university, where their fathers for a hundred years before them had gone as students. The University of Mississippi, the University of Virginia, Chapel Hill, and Yale were popular with Mississippi youth.

The coming of Christmas was the most important event of the year in a Mississippi plantation home. Arrangements and plans for entertaining were made and invitations sent out for months before the happy time. Large house parties were always features of the holiday season. The boys and girls came home from their colleges and universities and their friends came with them. All the kinfolk from far and near were gathered together in a grand family reunion. All the aristocratic families of the neighborhood were expected to come to every scene of pleasure and merriment. The big smoke house was filled to overflowing with hams, sausages and souce meat, every turkey that could be found was pressed into service, the wine cellar was replenished, and holly and mistletoe reigned supreme. The announcement was made that every thing was in readiness for the coming guests. For weeks the lordly and hospitable planter would keep open house. The young people were told to enjoy life as only young people can. The older members of the party would indulge in outdoor sports. Every gentleman in the party, young or old, was an expert shot and superb horseman. Bird fields and deer parks were kept especially for the pleasure and amusement of guests. A grand ball-room was a common feature of the Mississippi home. Card playing was indulged in by all, and a game of whist was always called for in the evening after supper. Gen. Withers and Senator Lowe would challenge Col. Gage and Gov. Johnson for a grand round of that all absorbing game in the library, while their better halves were looking after the festivities of the young people. An ebony negro boy always stood like a sentinel at the elbow of the master of the house, and frequent mint julips and egg-nogs were conveyed to the whist players by the said ebony sentinel. The young people played those delightful games of the old Christmas time, danced the lancers, minuette, quadrille and Virginia reel in the evening, and during the day flirted, made love and broke hearts in a fashion that has always been common to Mississippi girls.



Thus passed the delightful visit, joy and happiness beamed from every eye, love filled every heart, and good will and friendliness was in the very air.

It is impossible to picture in words the wife and mother of a Mississippi plantation home. Nothing that has been said or written of her has done justice to the subject, nothing that will be written in the future can truly tell of the grandest, noblest and best type of woman that ever brought joy and happiness to the world. Could the feelings of the heart be expressed then indeed might a fitting tribute be paid to the gentle, loveable, heroic Southern matron of the long ago. Descended from a long line of distinguished ancestry, she was truly noble, pure and beautiful. In the days of peace, plenty and happiness she made her beautiful home a haven of rest and a joy forever. When the days of trial, danger and privation came she met them with more than Spartan fortitude, no sacrifice was too great, no danger too terrible, no loss too bitter for her to bear for the sake of home and native land. In our mad rush to acquire the physical comforts and pleasures of life we are apt to lose sight of the gentle forces that in the past have done so much for the moral and intellectual improvement of the world. The fiery ambition of Alexander the Great was nurtured and kept alive by the grand genius of Aristotle. Napoleon was a disciple of Rousseau, and his meteoric career was but the growth of the precepts of that great Frenchman. William Pitt gained his inspiration and power from William Shakespeare, the poor and lowly peasant. The moral regeneration of the world was set in motion by Jesus of Nazareth, the divine Galilean peasant boy. The movement that resulted in the reformation of the Christian religion originated in the mind of Martin Luther, a poor, despised imprisoned monk. The spark that lit the fires of liberty and freedom throughout the world was applied by Patrick Henry, a rough, awkward Virginia backwoodsman. The grandest philanthropic work ever built up for fallen humanity was begun by Florence Nightingale, a poor, weak woman. The most heroic struggle that was ever waged by a liberty-loving people was sustained and strengthened by the undying devotion of Southern wives, mothers and sisters. History tells us that the women of ancient Carthage gave up their beautiful hair that their archers might speed their arrows against the vic-

torious legions of Rome as they stormed the gates of the doomed city. The Southern mother saw the beautiful hill tops of her country whitened with the bones of her dauntless sons. She heard the voice of lamentation in every home. The wailings of widows was ever sounding in her ears. Did she falter or despair? When strong men filled heroes graves she gave with breaking heart and streaming eyes the manly young son, yet in his 'teens to take his place in the ranks of those who knew how brave men die. Of all the characters that history has preserved for the love of succeeding generations the Southern mother should be enshrined in fame's proudest niche. She needs no glittering shaft reflecting the sun's rays to keep alive her memory in the hearts of her descendants. She needs no mighty mausoleum to commemorate her gentleness and nobility. She needs no golden words cut in lasting marble or written on enduring parchment to recite her deeds. Her name is forever enshrined in the hearts of every man and woman, every boy and girl whose heart responds to what is good, noble and true in human life. The wonderful progress that the "New Mississippi" is making in material prosperity is worthy of all praise, but there is nothing which can possibly occur in the coming years which can dim the lustre, or lessen the splendor, or obscure the glory of our beloved State in its chivalric and heroic age.

That was a time which no future generation can revive because the conditions that brought into being that glorious era and made the people of Mississippi what they were can never come again. The grand and noble men and women of the "Old South" are rapidly passing away. Their memories, deeds and virtues must be preserved by their sons and daughters. They must be preserved on the living pages of history as a priceless heritage to their descendants. They must be preserved in story, poetry and song, in sculptured marble, and in the glorious beauty of painted canvas so that they will endure forever and forever.



PRIVATE LETTERS OF MRS. HUMPHREYS,<sup>1</sup> WRITTEN IMMEDIATELY BEFORE AND AFTER THE EJECTION OF HER HUSBAND FROM THE EXECUTIVE MANSION.

BY LIZZIE GEORGE HENDERSON.

Realizing the importance of teaching the children of the South, the truth about the South before, during and after the War between the States and being supported in this by these wise words written by our beloved and admired Gen. Robt. E. Lee during the last months of his life; "The reputation of individuals is of minor importance to the opinion which posterity may form of the motives which governed the South in their late struggle for the maintenance of the principles of the Constitution;" and regarding it the duty of every Southern man and woman to give to the public every historical fact relating to those times which he or she may find, I have asked permission to present the two letters quoted in this article. The men and women of to-day who took part in that great "struggle" of which he speaks, realize the truth of his words, as they hear our army spoken of as "rebels" and the belief of our fathers, that we had every right to secede, called a "mistake" with a

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<sup>1</sup> Mildred Hickman Humphreys was born on the 22nd of February, 1823. She was the eldest daughter of Judge James Henry Maury and Lucinda Smith Maury. She was born in Franklin, Tenn. Moved with her parents to Port Gibson, Miss., in the fall of 1826. Was educated at the Port Gibson Academy and under the tutorship of her father, who was a highly educated man and a very ripe scholar. In 1836 she joined the Presbyterian church, and until her death was a consistent member of that church. On December 3rd, 1839, she was married to Benj. G. Humphreys, and went with him to his plantation home, Willemont, Claiborne county, near the Big Black river. Here several children were born to them, and on account of their health they bought Van Cluse plantation, back in the hills. In 1852 they began to spend the winters on the Itta Bena plantation in the wilds of Sunflower, now Leflore county, Miss., and so changed their citizenship, but continued to spend the summer months near Port Gibson. Her husband joined the Confederate army when Mississippi seceded, and throughout the war she frequently changed her residence, staying in Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, or Mississippi, wherever she might be nearest her husband. After the war closed they led the lives of a plantation family stripped of all per-

superior air, by men and women who were allowed to study histories—in our Southern schools too—terribly prejudiced against the South, and the rights for which she fought so bravely, and suffered so bravely after the fighting was over. I was too young to remember anything of the reconstruction days, except the excitement everywhere and the anxiety as to what would be done next. When we moved to Jackson in January, 1873, the most horrible words to my childish mind, were "Yankee," "Carpet-bagger" and "Scallawag;" and to speak to a man, a woman, or a child, to whom any of these words could be applied was certain disgrace. I walked blocks out of my way to avoid meeting any of the Yankee soldiers, then stationed in Jackson, for fear they *might* do *something* terrible to me. Such the impression made on a child's mind by the terrible state of affairs existing in Mississippi during the carpet-bag rule. In Lowry and McCardle's *History of Mississippi*, we find this: "Pending the canvass, Ord was superseded by Gen. McDowell, who, on assuming command, issued an order removing Gov. Humphreys and Col. Hooker, who was at that time Attorney-General of the State, as impediments to reconstruction, and appointing Adelbert Ames Governor of the State." Gov. Humphreys refused to obey the military order of McDowell, but continued to discharge the duties of his office. Col. Biddle demanded that Gov. Humphreys surrender his office, which he refused to do. He was then notified of the time when he would be put out by bayonets. When this time arrived the military

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sonal property. After the election of her husband to the Mississippi gubernatorial chair in 1865 she moved to Jackson, where they lived until 1869, when they moved to Vicksburg. In 1875 they returned to Itta Bena, where her husband died on December 20, 1882. She continued to live at Itta Bena until 1893, when she went to live with her oldest son, J. B. Humphreys, at Carrollton, Miss. She moved with him to Greenwood, Miss., where she lived until her death on November 19th, 1899. She was the mother of ten children, only four of whom lived to maturity: John Barnes Humphreys, Elizabeth Fontaine (Lillie) Humphreys, David Smith Humphreys and Benjamin Gubb Humphreys. Her daughter Lillie married James C. Bertron, June 25th, 1878, and died of yellow fever at Port Gibson, Miss., on the 20th of October, 1878.

The writer considers herself as having been greatly blessed in an intimate association with several of the old school Southern women, than whom there never has been and never will be stronger or more beautiful characters, and she has not known one more beautifully filling each position in her life, from the wife to the friend, than did Mrs. Humphreys.

She was one of the most universally beloved women Mississippi ever saw, and her place will not be filled.—L. G. H.

company came and on Gov. Humphreys' attempt to enter his office from the office of the Attorney-General, he was ordered to "halt" and informed that he would not be allowed to enter. In speaking of this Gov. Humphreys said, "I knew it was futile to disobey orders, but I had the honor, the dignity, property, and rights, and the sovereignty of the State to guard and I was determined to maintain those rights and yield nothing, except at the point of overpowering bayonets; and that the world should know that I yielded not to civil process, but to stern unrelenting military tyranny." Thus was the Gov. of Mississippi, elected by her people, put out of his office that a carpet-bag military Governor might be put in his place.

The following letters written by Mrs. Humphreys to her mother, gives an account of the anticipation of her expulsion from the Executive Mansion by the militia. Under date of July 8th, she writes as follows: "When I last wrote you, I expected Mr. Humphreys would be with you to-day. But how little do we know what a day may bring forth. Monday morning Gen. Ames wrote to the *Governor* that he wanted the *Mansion*. This, of course, has changed our plans for the summer. I will enclose you a copy of the correspondence, if I can get the letters before Mr. Ellett<sup>1</sup> leaves here. "*Old Veto, of course, refused to surrender* the Mansion. His reply to Gen. Ames was sent to-day, I suppose, as he wrote it last night, and said he would send it this morning. Both letters sent through postoffice. I am placed in command of the Mansion, with orders to hold it at all hazards; and as I have received reinforcements from New Orleans, this morning, in the person of *Mary Stamps*,<sup>2</sup> and with her think we can hold the enemy in check, whenever he makes the attack, until the *Governor* can come to our support. I think this step brings affairs to a *climax*. I have packed up everything and am prepared to *retreat* if necessary. Mr. Humphreys has been so much perplexed, and in some doubt *what* will happen and *when*, that he has formed no plans, and says he cannot until more developments are made. I expect we shall make you a visit when the mansion is *evacuated*, and we have disposed of all of our *plunder*. I will have a dispatch sent to Pa, as soon

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<sup>1</sup> Judge Henry T. Ellett, of the Supreme Court of Mississippi.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest daughter of Gov. Humphreys.

as any thing transpires in relation to *our* removal, which will *only* be accomplished with *bayonets*. Mr. Humphreys decided on *this* at once, and told me to refuse to give up the house whenever the demand was made, and if they chose they could *take it*, as they had done the *office*. The citizens from Gov. Sharkey down, are infuriated at the insolent demand, and many of them want to fight. The Radicals know their days are numbered, and in their death struggle will do all that *such men* can contrive to harass the victorious Democrats. I heard, accidentally, that Mr. Ellett was going home Wednesday, and when I had written the foregoing pages, Mr. Humphreys came in the house and said Mr. Ellett had gone. I regretted it, for I wished so much to write you what was going on, and knew that you all were anxious to hear from us, as the events just now transpiring are of great interest to us. Saturday—the week is nearly gone, and we have not yet been ejected from the Governor's Mansion. Several letters have passed between Mr. Humphreys and Gen. Ames. By which we are informed that he, *with others*, will *move* in on Monday morning to take possession of the Mansion. It is a great piece of audacity, and as Gen. McDowell in his order, making him Prov. Governor distinctly stated that he would receive *no compensation* other than that due him as a Federal officer, I do not know what pretext he can set up for the usurpation. We expected to have the matter settled before this time, and in the event of our removal, Mr. Humphreys said we would go to your house. We could not go down there and return here for less than \$150, and as that is an enormous sum, we may be denied the pleasure of making the visit as Mrs. Poindexter<sup>3</sup> has offered her house and furniture for \$400 per annum. If we can be located here on easy terms. I suppose we all shall have to remain here, but Mr. Humphreys and Barnes<sup>4</sup>. They will go to Port Gibson whenever Mr. Humphreys can get away from here. He has been so often ready to start and disappointed, that he feels very much worried about it. I can give you no idea of the confusion and discomfort we have lived in for the last three weeks. As soon as I knew Gen. Ames arrived, I began to pack up. When Mr.

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<sup>3</sup> The widow of Dr. — — Poindexter.

<sup>4</sup> Gov. Humphrey's oldest son.

Humphreys came home and told me he would not give up the Mansion without *force*, I began to *fix up* again and had gotten nearly composed when this order to move was received. We have been packed up for four or five days. Mr. Humphreys has concluded, after all that has transpired, to send me with the children, out of the house Monday morning before the Yankees come in, if possible, rather than have us subjected to so disagreeable an interview, and he with some *cool*, discreet friends will meet the Yankees when they come in. They can then take possession under protest. This is a very tormenting affair and drags itself along with so much sloth, that I am nearly worn out, *waiting* for the result. This letter will reach you on Monday morning, I hope." "Lucy<sup>s</sup> says, she wrote we would be with you to-morrow. I had told her I *hoped* we should, but I have never known, one day, where we should be the next."

Under the date of July 18th, she wrote as follows: "Well, *Monday* morning came and with it the *Yankee raid* upon the Mansion. It was my *first* experience in *that sort* of warfare, to which *you* had become accustomed before the surrender. We packed up everything that *belonged* to us and were *ready* for the attack, which was made about 12 o'clock. *Lieut. Bach*, commanding a file of six soldiers, rode up to the gate. The Lieut. dismounted and came in. Gov. Humphreys met him at the front door, the Lieut. said 'good morning' and *offered his hand*, which was not received. He said he wished to have a private interview (several of Mr. Humphreys friends were in the Mansion). The Governor and Lieut. walked into a front parlor, where the latter said he had been sent by Col. Biddle to take possession of *part* of the Mansion. Gov. said he refused to give it up. Lieut. said he had a note from Col. Biddle to deliver in case Mr. Humphreys refused to give up the house, and the note was delivered. Mr. Humphreys asked him if he would carry out the order to put him out by force? He said he would. Mr. Humphreys then stepped to the door and called some of his friends in to hear what passed. He then told Lt. he would repeat his question, as he wished to have witnesses to what passed between them; the Lt. hesitated, and Mr. Humphreys insisted, so the same ques-

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\* The wife of Major Wm. Yerger, and a niece of Mrs. Humphreys.



tion was put and same reply made. When Mr. Humphreys came out and sent for a carriage for me, and wagons. He told me not to leave the house until I saw everything was put together ready to set in the wagons, so that Barnes could *stand by* and see it all safely shipped, and told me to put my *box of silver* on the *carriage* and take it *with me*. We had heard of *Yankee* raids before, and profited by the experience of others. Lucy left the Mansion just as I did. Will remained with Barnes. I marched out with my children, through a *crowd* of *negroes*, who had assembled in the front yard, to see the *fun*, many of them in a broad grin. The file of soldiers was outside the gate. We walked out, got into the carriage and rode to Mrs. Barr's boarding house. Everybody on the street gazing at us as we rode through the streets. We left Lieut. Bach promenading the two unfurnished parlors. He wore a red sash and sword, did not take his hat off up to the time I left. He looks like Ned Ingraham at the distance I saw him. He is the young man Jennie Rowan wrote to me asking us to show him some attention, as he was a stranger and had not been engaged in the *war*. Mr. Humphreys called on him and this was his *first* visit to the Mansion.

General Ames had not moved in yet I am told; but keeps a guard at the front door day and night. He has had a *billiard table* put in one of the parlors, and *after dark* he and his friends go and play billiards. Mrs. Biddle, Mrs. Sumner and her mother went there one evening *after dark*, and walked over the the house, expressing the greatest admiration for the house. Everybody here thinks Ames would give his *right hand*, if he had never said '*Mansion*.' I have heard he spends most of his time in the billiard room, and was *drunk* last Saturday. I do not think the gentlemen here ever approach him. We never hear him spoken of but with contempt. Mrs. Tarpley\* told me she had been watching the Mansion all the week and the only visitors she had seen enter it since our departure, were several detachments of *colored ladies*, who were met at the door by the sentinel and ushered in. Edah and Hannah have remained there in the kitchen and from them I heard of the visit of the officers' wives I mentioned. Gen. Ames told Hannah's husband, that he

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\* A friend of Mrs. Humphreys, who lived diagonally across the street from the Mansion.

did not wish the *vegetables in the garden disturbed, as they belonged to Gov. Humphreys*. I thought he was *becoming* rather conscientious, considering the start that he had made. We have rented Mrs. Poindexters house."

"Mrs. Huhphreys *did* take care of her *spoons*" (you see she knew that Ames was Ben Butler's son-in-law, and thought that he *might* be addicted to the spoon habit). "She did not let them get out of *her sight*." What a trying ordeal all this must have been to such a refined womanly woman, as Mrs. Humphreys was, and yet an eye-witness tells me this: "The scorn she felt for these *instruments* of tyranny as well as for the tyrants themselves, who were about to perpetrate so great an outrage upon her husband, I thought I could detect in the expression of her face; but there was no demonstration, no haughty toss of the head, no dramatic sweeping by as she passed through the doors; and while the outrage must have touched her soul, she gave no outward evidence of the tempest that must have been raging within. She with her distinguished husband walked out of the Governor's Mansion between the files of United States soldiers, and as they passed the officer in command, I distinctly remember, that *he* looked steadfastly *at the ground*. I think I can sum the whole matter up by saying, that she demeaned herself upon that trying occasion, as you, being a Mississippian should have desired the mistress of the Governor's Mansion to do."

How full of stirring events her whole life was, and with what serenity, patience and Christian fortitude she met them all. On the presentation of a flag by the J. Z. George Chapter to the Ben Humphreys' Rifles, the night before they left us to go to join the army for the Spanish-American war, she told me that it was the fourth war she had seen flags presented for. The first, when she was a little girl at school, she saw a flag presented to a company going to help Texas gain her independence; then the flag presented to a company going to join the army for the war with Mexico; next the one presented to a company to join the Confederate army in which were her husband and brothers; then this last, presented to a company to which her son and grandson belonged. Always in the midst of the work and doing her part well, whenever her country was in danger, and through it all asking nothing for herself, but that those men who were dearest to her, might never fail to do a patriot's part when their

country needed them. I think if we would stop in our rush for riches and the enjoyable things of life, and contemplate the quiet, brave, self-forgetting and *womanly* lives of our mothers and grandmothers, especially during the War between the States and during the terrible days of reconstruction, we might be better and more useful men and women. For myself I feel that to have known such women was an inspiration to be and to do the right thing; and our children cannot too often be talked to, of their patriotic devotion to their country and their beautiful self-forgetting lives.

## IMPORTANCE OF THE LOCAL HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR.

BY JOSIE FRAZEE CAPPLEMAN.<sup>1</sup>

"History is the witness of the times, the torch of truth, the life of memory, the teacher of life, the messenger of antiquity." Our unwritten history is, in many instances, our best history, and, therefore, it is all important that our best be preserved. And to the unwritten history of the late Civil War I would now call attention. Who among us has not heard some battle-scarred veteran recount incidents, accidents, brave, heroic and romantic deeds that thrilled us through and through with their intensity, and awakened our greatest wonder and admiration? And yet—many of these glorious acts of a glorious past (of which any nation might well be proud) are still unrecorded. In vain do we look for them upon the pages of our history; they exist, many of them, only in the remote recesses of memory, perhaps to be soon forgotten or laid away forever. Oh! the pity of thus losing so much that would redound to the honor and glory of this brave, chivalrous and heroic people. And oh! the stupendous mistake of those who are robbing our State's history of some of its brightest and its best pages!

In vain, have I written and appealed for help. For more than six months have I been calling upon persons in different locali-

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Josie Frazee Cappleman is of Kentucky parentage, but grew from girlhood to womanhood in Mississippi. She is especially interested in woman's work and gives generously of her time and energy to its advancement. She is an active member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. At present she is State Historian of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, State Secretary of the Federation, and Conductress of the Masonic order of the "Eastern Star." She is also a member of the Mississippi Press Association, the State Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Her literary work has been varied. She has rendered selections from her own writings before the Chautauqua Assembly, at Monteagle, Tenn., and before the National Reunion of the "Blue and Gray" at Evansville, Ind. She has recently published a book of poems entitled *Heart Songs*, dedicated to the United Daughters of the Confederacy. For a fuller account of her life see *The Bohemian*, Midsummer Number, 1900.—EDITOR.

ties—fraught with historic interest—for information in regard to the struggle in the sixties; and one can hardly imagine the indifference of those to whom such inquiries were addressed. One says, he cannot write “fit for anything.” What do we care for the fitness of the writing? It is fact for which we seek. Another says, he knows “just plenty of things that happened during the war, but ain’t got no time to tell about ’em!” Little do these persons realize that time thus spent would greatly redound to the credit of the communities of which they could write if not of the entire State!

Almost every locality possesses something of historic value. Even my own little town, Okolona, (of meagre size in the sixties) is rich in historic incident and romantic lore. Scarcely a spot that knew not something, during those four full years, of intense emotion, violent passion, or heart-rending tragedy. Here was located the division hospital, with its long lines of sick-wards, and its dark “death-chamber,” from which were buried almost one thousand soldiers wrapped in their mantles of gray. It was here that Gen. Wm. Cabbell, “Old Tige,” as he was familiarly called, lay wounded, and sick almost unto death, for three long months. It was here, Feb. 22, 1864, that Gen. A. B. Forrest, that most dashing and courageous of cavalymen, with 2,500 men, met 7,000 men under Gen. Smith, and, in the face of such overwhelming odds, gained a complete victory. Twelve of the enemy were killed within our corporation. And yet, how few know that all these things took place within our own narrow limits! For four years I lived in the house that bore the brunt of that battle. Hundreds of bullet-holes were still in it, the silent records of that brilliant Confederate victory. In the yard I have frequently found rifle, minnie and cannon balls.

It was in the pursuit, after that battle, only six miles from Okolona (at Prairie, Md.), that Jesse, the brother of Gen. Forrest was mortally wounded by the retreating Federals. I have been told by an eye-witness that after his brother was killed, Gen. Forrest knelt down by his side, kissed him, then mounted his horse, drew his sword with his left hand, his pistol with his right, and killed two of the enemy. It was also here, after the bloody battle of Harrisburg, (July 14, 1864,) that Gen. Forrest was confined to his bed a week, at the home of Maj. Shep-

pard, from the foot wound received in that battle. Mrs. Forrest, his wife, was here with him during his brief illness. It was here that the gallant cavalier and dauntless soldier, Gen. Earl Van Dorn, organized a cavalry corps of 6,000, and was joined by King's Battery of the 2d Missouri Artillery, remaining in this place between two and three weeks. It was here that Col. James Gordon, a graduate of the University of Mississippi in the class of 1855, raised the first company of cavalry that went from this State. It was armed and equipped at his own expense, at a cost of \$32,000. After that he raised a regiment, which performed many daring and heroic feats during the four years of active service.

Okolona was the sufferer from three raids of the enemy. The first took place in December, 1862, while the town was under the command of Col. C. R. Barteau, who was wounded in the gallant discharge of his duty; the second occurred in the early part of 1864, when the College Hospital was burned, also the depot containing 100,000 bushels of corn. After leaving the burning buildings the Federals fired the cornfields, with their wealth of ungathered grain, which were laid waste, to the extent of several miles of prairie-belt, reaching from Okolona to West Point. On the 22d of Feb., 1864, Gen. Forrest met the returning enemy at this place, and gained a glorious victory—as has just been narrated. The third raid was made in the first week of January, 1865. Gen. Sam'l. Gholson was then in charge of Okolona, and lost an arm in his defense of "home and native land."

Again the enemy set fire to the town, every store being totally destroyed. Yet, with all these historic facts at our very doorways there are the fewest residents who are familiar with them; and, after days of inquiry, not one—from the oldest to the youngest citizen—could give me a single date in regard to the foregoing facts. This shows the importance, the vital importance of collecting these local events now.

As in one place, so are the majority of others in our State; and, as are the majority in our State, so are the majority of our sister States. Hence the paramount importance of beginning at once the task of untangling the broken threads, of history, that lie scattered and neglected in so many of our lesser localities, and then tying together the straightened ends.

In the larger places it is different. All readers are more or less acquainted with their life-dramas and tragedies of the sixties. One means, I find, of preserving these smaller incidents of the Civil War, is to collect them as they are voluntarily told by our veterans, and embody all worthy of record, in our new system of Southern School Histories. Here allow me to digress. These Southern Histories by Mrs. Susan Pendleton Lee, Mrs. Mary Williamson and other loyal Southerners, are doing much to dispel the false impressions hitherto made upon the younger generations by the Northern versions of Southern history. As other histories still broader and more accurate are to appear soon, these untruthful and unjust records will in time, we trust, be altogether obliterated. Miss Louise Manly, author of *Southern Literature*, is another woman doing a noble work in bringing about a revolution in Southern literary circles. By rescuing from oblivion some of the Southland's most polished writers and sweetest singers, she has thus preserved many deserving names and literary gems to Southern literature. The B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., of Richmond, Va., is also doing a great service to the Southland, by its active interest in, and publication of all that pertains to the upbuilding and advancement of this land of the Sun. Virginia and Virginia's women have done, and are still doing a noble work in this line; and we hope that Mississippi's equally as noble and zealous women will soon take foremost rank in the performance of this sacred duty. The complete and perfect whole depends upon the perfection of each of the parts; and so with a correct and truthful history of the Confederate States, during the four years of the Civil War. Of the necessity of such truths we daily see the need.

Let me add a word of caution. It is not from the point of view of the narrow-minded, the prejudiced, the relentless that we must seek for this information; but from the broadest-gauged, the wisest, the coolest heads. Many times, in my continuous search for truth, have I turned from those in possession of some desired fund of facts, because of their paramount propensity to "fight the war over again." Thus the truths, for which our local historians seek so anxiously, are often completely submerged in a sea of abusive epithets that roll and toss and sweep over each other in the vain struggle for vengeance.

Another peculiar and striking experience of the would-be collector of historical data is this: The absolutely unforgiving are those who stood off and saw the battle from afar, or suffered not in the flesh, but only in the matter of worldly goods.

The calm, the reasonable, the rancorless are those who bore most, fought most, lost most. This is mentioned merely by way of observation of a peculiar phase of human nature.

In my manifold efforts, as State Historian of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, I find that there is no agency for the preservation of our beloved Southland's heroic deeds in the late Civil War to be compared to the active earnestness of the U. D. C., assisted as they are by the Grand Camp of U. C. V., of Virginia, with that glorious patriot, Dr. Hunter McGuire, as their loyal leader.

This organization (the U. D. C.) has awakened an interest in Confederate history that was entirely unknown until a few years ago, when, as women will, they undertook the gigantic task of rescuing our history from the almost fathomless pits of oblivion.

With all the fervor I feel for our "Loved Cause" I appeal to those who take interest, even the slightest, in this and future generations, to aid us in the difficult and intricate task we have so willingly undertaken; to assist us in procuring and preserving those sacred truths which should be dear to every loyal Southerner. A systematic plan should at once be adopted, and diligent effort made—all of which requires time and means and labor—to rescue the scattered fragments of our history, too many of which are, even now, lost to us forever.

Aye, let us have our history, as it is—as it should be! Give us the correct version of that most unequal struggle, for principle's sake, of the bravest, most generous, the most princely of all the peoples that sapphire sky or Southern sun has ever smiled upon. Give us our history as it stands in the light of truth—unique, alone; without spot, without blemish. A record that reads more like a golden romance, than a living, breathing reality. Yet, of such as these is our history filled; the wonderfully heroic, pathetic, self-sacrificing deeds of our men and women.

Again I appeal to you, who believe in the truth and the vindication of the true; to you, who can assist and forward this



great movement that is being made to preserve, intact, our history! Delay not longer; but give to us, and through us to the future, a faithful portrayal of our not "Lost;" but "Loved Cause." Then we, too, can say: "History hath triumphed over time, which besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over."

## WILLIAM C. FALKNER, NOVELIST.<sup>1</sup>

BY ALEXANDER L. BONDURANT.<sup>2</sup>

Summer with its teeming life, sunshine and warmth; with its ripening fruits and fragrant flowers is followed by Indian summer. Now the fruits have mellowed, and the fields are golden with grain. A languorous haze fills the air, and the sun seems to halt in his course as he approaches the nadir.

It is in this Indian summer period of man's life, when activity is followed by contemplation before senility has set in, that many, who have done yoeman service in their day, record their impressions of the events that they have witnessed and the parts they have played. From the earliest times youth has sat at the feet of age, and learned valuable lessons to be utilized when it assumes fully life's burdens. But no such guerdon awaits us in connection with the life of the subject of this sketch, for he was cut off in the flower of his age, his step still elastic, his eye undimmed. He was living in the fullest sense, and had

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<sup>1</sup>The writer wishes to express his appreciation of the valuable information given him by Hon. J. W. T. Falkner, and Mrs. N. G. Carter, children of Col. Falkner, and Mrs. M. H. Crockett, his lifelong friend.

<sup>2</sup>Alexander L. Bondurant was born at Colalto, Buckingham county, Virginia, June 22, 1865. His family is French Huguenot. His father, Alex. J. Bondurant, Esq., received his college education at Hampden Sidney, the University of Va., and the University of Berlin. He was a Confederate soldier. He is now Tobacco Expert for the Colony of Victoria, Australia. His mother was Miss Emily Morrison, of Rockbridge county. Col. Thomas M. Bondurant, the owner and publisher of the *Richmond Whig*, was his paternal grandfather. His maternal grandfather, Rev. James Morrison, was a graduate from the University of North Carolina. When a young man he became pastor of New Providence church in the valley of Virginia and devoted his life to this single charge. He was an ardent and enthusiastic student, evincing especial fondness for history, biography and the classical languages.

Mr. Bondurant was prepared for college mainly by private teachers. He entered the Freshman class of Hampden Sidney college in 1880, and was graduated with the degree of A. B. four years later. His instructors in Latin and Greek were two accomplished scholars, Profs. Blair and Hogue. While at Hampden Sidney he was a member of the household of his uncle, the Rev. Robert L. Dabney, D. D. After his graduation he taught for three years. During the last of these years when holding the position of Instructor of Ancient Languages in Round Rock Institute,

not stopped to reduce his life-history to writing; and so his chronicler has to collect these scattered leaves wherever he can, and as best he may, arrange them into a connected whole.

It is the purpose of this paper to recall to the minds of those who knew him, and to place before those who knew him not the main facts pertaining to the life of William C. Falkner, lawyer, soldier, financier, student and author. The title, therefore, is rather suggestive of one phase of his life, a phase that culminated late, than inclusive of the whole.

William C. Falkner was born in Knox County, East Tennessee, July 6, 1826. His family was of Welsh descent and his forefathers had been pioneers in this region. He was very reserved in speaking or writing of himself, so little can be gathered directly with reference to the early years of his life; but he always manifested a deep affection for his mother, and its seems certain her character and influence over him were powerful factors in the determination of his later career. The careful reader detects in his writings a love for and comprehension of Nature in her many moods that doubtless came to him amidst the romantic surroundings of his boyhood home. From Tennessee his family removed to Missouri, and there his father died. The lad was now cast upon his own resources, and, further, felt the responsibility

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Texas, he was a student of the University of Texas, graduating in Latin and Greek. His instructor was Prof. Milton W. Humphreys.

In the autumn of 1887 he entered the University of Va., where he remained two sessions, pursuing advanced studies in ancient and modern languages, and philosophy.

In 1889 he was chosen Assistant Professor of Latin and Greek in the University of Mississippi. In 1892 he was awarded a fellowship in Harvard University, and having procured a leave of absence he spent the following session in graduate study in that institution, taking courses in Latin, Greek and Sanscrit. At the end of the year he was awarded the A. M. degree. He then resigned the fellowship to which he had been reappointed and returned to the University of Mississippi to assume charge of the Schools of Latin and Greek upon the resignation of Prof. Hogue. In 1895 he was made Professor of Latin, which position he has since held.

Professor Bondurant is a contributor to the *Nation*, the *Dial*, the *Citizen*. He takes an active interest in Southern literature. The following is a partial list of his writings: "Methods of Classical Study," *Proceedings of Mississippi State Teachers' Association*, 1890; "High School Course in Latin," *Mississippi School Journal*, 1896; "Did Jones County Secede?" *Publications of Mississippi Historical Society*, 1898; "Sherwood Bonner," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, 1899; "The Secondary School," *The Jeffersonian*, June, 1900. He is a member of the American Philological Association; the Archaeological Institute of America and the Mississippi Historical Society.—EDITOR.

of providing for his widowed mother and orphaned brothers and sisters. The future seemed to hold little of promise for him in Missouri, and so he decided to seek fortune elsewhere. Mississippi was, at this time, a virgin land, and thither he determined to go; a bold undertaking for a lad of seventeen with no money, and no friends along the road. Foot-sore and weary he arrived at Ripley, Mississippi, then a pioneer inland town. Here he had relatives, and naturally looked for sympathy and encouragement; but in this, at first, he was disappointed. He now went to work with his hands doing anything that offered, but the days seemed long, and the nights weary. It is said that he went finally to a neighboring town, Pontotoc, to find work, but met with discouragement, and seeking a secluded spot gave vent to his grief. While here a little maid, Holland Pearce, came along, and seeing his sadness gave him sympathy and words of cheer. The lad was helped, and treasured in memory the sweet girl face, and the heartening words; later a young lawyer, the self-same lad now grown to man's estate, came back, and claimed and won her heart and hand. But let us follow his early struggles with fate. A college education seemed beyond his reach, but he was an insatiable reader, and was filled with an earnest desire to obtain the best education possible under the circumstances. There was a teacher in the village of Ripley at this time, James Kernan, a native of Ireland, and to him young Falkner repaired. He studied in the winter and worked in summer in order to defray his expenses for the coming school term. In addition to this he taught elementary classes called "little A. B. C's." It seems to be certain that he was largely indebted to this teacher for proper direction in reading. Later he went to a relative, who at that time was a prominent lawyer, and requested to be allowed to read law in his office; but the lawyer refused, giving as his reason his insufficient preparation for the study. But one of Falkner's beliefs was that a man could be whatever he desired to be, and so, nothing daunted, he turned to his former teacher, who had hung out his shingle in a rough log office; and there the tyro conned Blackstone, and fitted himself for the examination which he successfully passed. He had, to an unusual degree, the power of application and forged rapidly to the front in his chosen profession.

The young man did not forget the mother he had left behind him, and constantly sent her means from his slender earnings. Fortune at last began to smile upon him, and determined in his wooing as in all his undertakings, he obtained the hand of Miss Holland Pearce, who made him a faithful and devoted wife. He was married in 1847, but she survived only a few years leaving one child, J. W. T. Falkner, who has lived to reflect credit upon an honored name, and at this writing is a member of the Senate in this State.

The news of Texas' struggles for independence fired the heart of one who was always alive to the sorrows of the oppressed, and when the United States espoused this cause he volunteered as a private. He saw much service, and was wounded several times; but his gains were greater than his losses, for by his gallantry, courtesy and uniform kindness he won for himself the esteem of his comrades, and the respect of the commanding officers, and was chosen an officer by his companions in arms.

Upon his return home he began anew the practice of his profession, and, in addition, engaged largely in planting. Naturally he was a slave owner, but was always a humane master. He was married a second time to Miss Elizabeth Houston Vance, of Alabama, the marriage occurring in 1851. To them were born the following children: William Henry, who died in early manhood; Willie M., now Mrs. N. G. Carter, of Ripley; Bama L., now Mrs. Walter McLean, of Memphis; Effie, now Mrs. A. E. Davis, of Ripley; besides several children, who died in infancy or early youth. During this period he was a close student of the Bible and Shakespeare, and though he had never had the opportunity for the study of Latin and Greek, he made a careful study of the master pieces of these great literatures in translation, gaining in this way a fair knowledge and appreciation of Homer and Virgil, and other classical authors. He was keenly alive to the advantages of a college education, and sent his brother and son to the University of Mississippi. He did not care for office, but ever took an active interest in the upbuilding of his adopted State, and had great influence in all political gatherings. He did not use this influence to advance himself, but ever strove to see that the best men filled the officers, both State and county. He was an old line Whig, and later allied himself with that branch of the Whig party that at

first was ridiculed by those of a different political creed. But it is a significant fact that many times a name applied first by enemies in derision has been worn later as a badge of honor and this is true of *The Know Nothing* party, which held that America should be for Americans, and that in order to have a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon community the waves of foreign immigration that threatened to engulf the State, must be arrested. And now, after half a century, we find a multitude of earnest men accepting the tenets of this party irrespective of political creed.

Colonel Falkner was intensely southern, and held strongly to the sovereign right of a sovereign State to secede, and when the North each year grew more exacting in her demands, and those who opposed slavery in the nation's counsels grew daily more bitter in their attacks upon the slave power, he preached boldly this doctrine as a remedy for existing evils. When the die was cast, he at once responded to the call to arms, and went to work with enthusiasm to enlist men for the conflict, which he fully realized was to be no "thirty days matter." He was chosen Col. of the second Mississippi regiment, and led his command to Virginia. His former adjutant writes that he was an excellent disciplinarian, but ruled more by kindness than by force.

In the first battle of Manassas, the second Mississippi played a prominent part. Under the command of Col. Falkner they were in the thickest of the fight. Col. M. C. Galloway, formerly of the *Memphis Appeal* wrote that as he was pressing forward to charge the enemy General Beauregard asked, "who is the knight with the black plume? Men you may follow where he leads," and that thus Col. Falkner earned this honorable soubriquet. A battery was working havoc amongst the Confederate forces, and General Johnson said that it must be taken. Col. Falkner offered his command for the undertaking, and was completely successful, though his loss was heavy. General Bee said that he hoped to live to tell of Falkner's daring on that eventful day. The following dispatch was sent to a Mississippi paper at the close of the battle by a spectator: "A Mississippi Regiment covered itself with glory. Editor of *Mississippian*: The victory is ours. Col. Falkner of 2nd Mississippi Regiment, charged and took four pieces of Sherman's battery. His loss was a hundred killed and wounded." At the end of the day Col. Falkner was in command of the brigade, succeeding for the time the gallant General B. E. Bee, who had been mortal-

ly wounded in the engagement. He lost from his regiment four captains killed and two wounded. He was wounded slightly, Major Blair severely, and Lieut-Col. B. B. Boone was reported missing.

When apprised soon after the battle of the birth of a little daughter in his home, he wrote his wife to name her Elizabeth after the one who had been so faithful a helpmeet to him, and to add Manassas to commemorate the victory of southern arms. The army went into winter quarters near Harper's Ferry, and having engaged board at a farm house for his wife and children whom he had not seen since the beginning of the campaign, he sent his adjutant, Captain Guyton, to bring them to him. The mails were very irregular and he had received no news from his family for some time prior to their arrival. Meanwhile his little son, Vance, and his baby girl whose name commemorated his country's victory and his own honor, had sickened and died. When the mother with the surviving children came to him, after embracing her and them, he looked around for the boy and his baby girl. The mother then told him of their bereavement. One of the children writes that the impression made upon her by her father's grief as he ordered the cot and the crib to be removed, will never be forgotten. His family spent most of the winter with him. After serving for about a year with the Virginian army, he withdrew from this branch of the service and returned to Mississippi. Colonel Falkner had won the esteem of all with whom he was associated, and his retirement was greatly deplored as will be seen from the following letter:

"Lee's Farm"  
"April 23d, 1862

"Sir:

"I take the liberty of offering my testimony in behalf of Col. Falkner, late of the 2d Mississippi regiment. This gentleman has served with me in command of that admirable regiment for the last eleven months. Its discipline and instruction during all that time prove his zeal and capacity—as his courage was proved on the field of Manassas. I regret very much to lose him. If he can be replaced in the army in a position adequate to his merit, be assured that it will be fortunate for the service as well as the efficiency of the troops he may command.

"Most respectfully,

"Your obt. sert.

"J. E. Johnston,  
"General."

"The Hon. J. W. Randolph,  
Sec. of War."

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\* Original in the possession of Hon. J. W. T. Falkner.

I quote from a letter of the same date from Brigadier General Whiting to Mr. Randolph: "Colonel Falkner is one of the best officers in this army. His entire devotion to his regiment, its condition, efficiency and discipline due to him, his extraordinary exertions to recruit it, the skillful manner in which he has commanded it all entitle him to the gratitude of the men, and especially the consideration of the Government. But he has been defeated by demagogues and affords another illustration of the crying evils that the election system in our army has wrought, and is producing. \* \* \* \* \*

"I forward an order published in the withdrawal of Col. Falkner who will in the impending engagement give me the advantage of his services on my staff. I most earnestly recommend Colonel Falkner to the consideration of the President, once more expressing my regret that he who led the 2nd so well on the day of Manassas, should be so untowardly debarred from its command at present."

In special order No. 96, dated April 22, General W. H. Whiting says: "To the great regret of the Brig. General commanding, a regret expressed also by his superiors Maj. Gen. (E. Kirby) Smith and Gen. Johnston, Colonel Falkner in consequence of the vote of his regiment in the election just held, retires from the command.

"The services of this distinguished officer of Mississippi, from Harper's Ferry to Winchester, Manassas, the 21st of July, Evansport to Yorktown, merit the approval of his countrymen and the reward of his government. Faithful, careful, diligent and strict, he has combined and displayed in his career all the qualities which make a colonel of first class. The Brig. General is happy to be able to say, that while he has commanded the brigade, Col. Falkner's regiment has been brought by the constant care of that officer, to a high state of discipline and efficiency." His adjutant, Captain Guyton writes of him: "A more gallant and brave officer was not found in the service. He stood high in the estimation of his superior officers. In his judgment and foresight they seemed to have the utmost confidence, frequently consulting him in regard to grave matters pertaining to the army." General Whiting had a communication read to all the regiments in his command, in which



he complimented the retiring officer not only upon his gallantry in the war then in progress, but on his distinguished services on the battle fields of Mexico.

Colonel Falkner remained at home only a short while, and then under a commission from President Davis he raised a partisan regiment of calvary and returned to the service. He was in the commands of Generals Forrest and Chalmers, and took part in the battles of Corinth, Rienzi, Brice's Cross Roads, Harrisburg and Collierville. During this period his characteristic courtesy to woman was illustrated by the following incident: On one occasion having captured the wife of a Federal officer, he sent her to his own home, where she was received as a guest by his wife, and later restored to her own people under a flag of truce. It is interesting to recall that this act of kindness was not forgotten, for, from time to time, the Falkners heard from their former guest.

When the great questions over which the conflict was waged, had been settled by the arbitrament of arms, he accepted the issue in good faith, and began life anew. At the beginning of the war he had accumulated by his industry, energy and sound judgment a considerable fortune, but nearly all this was lost. He began again the practice of law in partnership with Judge J. W. Thompson, and the firm prospered. He identified himself with the Democratic party, and worked to repair the ravages that war had wrought in his State. He writes thus of reconstruction: "Let the past bury the past—let us cultivate a feeling of friendship between North and South. Both parties committed errors—let both parties get back on the right track. Let us try to profit by our sad experience—let us teach forgiveness and patriotism, and look forward to the time when the cruel war shall be forgotten. We have a great and glorious nation of which we are very proud, and we shall make it greater by our love and support. It was a family quarrel, and the family have settled it, and woe to the outsider who shall dare to interfere.

"The Union shall live forever, and those unpatriotic politicians who have maimed it shall be driven into obscurity. Let peace and good will, brotherly love and good faith, exist be-

tween the North and South, and let Satan take those who wave the bloody shirt."

He finally retired from the practice of the law in favor of his son, Hon. J. W. T. Falkner, and gave his time to writing and business. A friend writes of him: "As a business man he was industrious, and persevering; quick to see the opportunity and prompt to act, and was very successful in most of his enterprises, the greatest of which was building the Ripley Railroad."

This project originated with Col. Falkner. He was sitting on the square with some merchants, when a number of wagons from Saulsbury, Tennessee, drove up, well loaded with merchandise of various kinds. This served to remind them that trade properly belonging to them was being diverted into other channels. Col. Falkner proposed that they build a railroad to Middleton, Tennessee. At first the suggestion was not approved, but he succeeded in rousing interest in the project, the people of the town subscribed liberally, and he went tirelessly to work. At this time there was a law on the statute books of the State which gave a subsidy of four thousand dollars a mile for the construction of standard gage roads. He set to work to have this statute changed so as to include narrow gage roads and succeeded, though opposed by two railroads then in existence. But there were not sufficient funds to complete the project. Col. Falkner appealed to President Moses Wicks, of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and he agreed to furnish the iron and rolling stock, if the company would grade the road and place the ties. The subsidy act expired by limitation August 31, 1872, and so a race against time began. The work was rapidly pushed to completion, and on August 30, a train passed over the whole length of the road containing the commissioners, who passed upon it; and it was agreed that this was a pretty big undertaking for a neighborhood. This is said to have been the first narrow gage railroad built in the United States.

Col. Falkner was the president of the road and succeeded in putting it on a paying basis. It was his purpose to extend the road until he made of it a trunk line to the gulf. He writes in *The Ripley Advertiser*, June, 1886. "Every one who desires the welfare of the State, should rejoice to see this grand enter-

prise prosper. I am putting forth all my energy, have laid aside all other business—am investing largely of my private fortune to put the enterprise on its feet. \* \* \* \* \*

“An idea prevails that we expect to stop at Pontotoc; but we hope and believe we will not stop short of the gulf. We will (if possible) build on an air line from Jackson or Bolivar, Tennessee, to Ship Island. \* \* \* \* \* A corps of engineers is now surveying a line from Middleton to Hickman, Kentucky on the Mississippi side who propose to unite with us and make a continuous line from the gulf to some point near Cairo.”

But though so busily engaged in this enterprise, he still found time to take an active interest in the political well being of his State. In 1876 he was one of the Tilden electors. At this time the South was still in part under the domination of the ‘carpet-bag’ régime, and Col. Falkner earnestly desired to see his section restored to its rightful place in the national government. He made an active canvass for Mr. Tilden, paying his expenses out of his private purse, and refused to be reimbursed.

No view of the character of Col. Falkner would be complete that did not emphasize his charity. He was the friend of the widow and the father of the fatherless in his community. He kept in mind always his early struggles to gain an education, and to make for himself a place in the world, and was ever ready to help deserving young men with his counsel and with his purse. He did not much encourage the giving of Christmas presents between the various members of his family, but at this time would fill boxes with provisions and clothing to be given to the poor, and would encourage his children to take part in this charity; but in his giving he observed due care to withhold the name of the giver, for he held that true charity brings its own reward.

He was a loving and faithful husband and father, and offered to all his children those educational advantages that had been denied him. One of his many enterprises that redounded to the good of the community was the founding of Stonewall College.

His close reading and study of the masters of English prose, his wide and varied experience as lawyer, soldier, and man of affairs, coupled with close powers of observation, fitted him for

readily wielding the pen. His first publication, which came out when he was just grown up, was entitled "The Life of Mac-Cannon" and gave the history of a man who had gained a bad notoriety in the community. He contributed later to a *Know Nothing* paper, entitled *Uncle Sam*. But not until some years after the close of the war did he address himself seriously to writing. He first wrote a drama called "The Lost Diamond." It is a play of war times and abounds in thrilling situations and tragic interest, comparing favorably with "Shenandoah," which has had very marked success on the boards. The play was presented several times in Ripley and always to crowded houses. The actors were young people from the town, and the piece was carefully rehearsed and staged under the direction of the writer. The proceeds were devoted to charitable purposes.

His first novel, "The White Rose of Memphis," appeared first as a serial in *The Ripley Advertiser*. The story attracted favorable attention while it was coming out; later it was published in book form.<sup>4</sup> The book is dedicated to Col. M. C. Gallaway, of the *Memphis Appeal*. "In days long since past, when angry clouds lowered above me and dangers clustered thick around me, a time when friends of mine were few, though greatly to be desired—it was my good fortune to find in your generous heart those noble sentiments of true friendship that have proved of inestimable value to me. . . . . "I have the honor to inscribe this work to you, only regretting it is not more worthy of the honorable name of the generous friend to whom it is dedicated." The author is one of the first to utilize the Great River for literary purposes. We have a merry party starting from Memphis for a trip to New Orleans. Captain, crew and passengers have decided to make a fête of the maiden trip of *The White Rose of Memphis*. On the night before the party starts a masked ball is given aboard. Then comes the embarkation, and we have a vivid picture in a few words of all engaged from captain to 'roust about.' The city gathers on the bluff to witness the fine boat as she looses her moorings and glides smoothly from the wharf, first up stream and into the current, then graceful as a sea gull she sweeps by the city and salutes the watching crowd as she passes. The party on board

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<sup>4</sup> G. W. Dillingham, Publisher, New York.

decides to remain in masque, and the Queen of Scotts is appointed mistress of the revel. The Queen of Sheba first decides to hold a rival court, but finally peace is declared between the contending majesties, and the Queen of Sheba with her gentlemen and ladies in waiting join the cortége of the Queen of Scotts. The day is then apportioned by the Queens. In the morning they are to meet upon the deck and have stories; in the afternoon this is to be repeated; and in the evening they are to have, for awhile, recitations and songs, and then to woo Terpsichore until Morpheus summons them.

The plan is approved by all and a constitution under which they are to live adopted. The knight Ingomar is called upon for a story and he so interests the party that his narrative is kept up throughout the voyage. It is a personal sketch and brings in many interesting characters. The book gives a spirited view of the beginnings of the city of Memphis. We have depicted with ability and faithfulness, the brave young man, the loving and acute young woman, the steamboat captain, then a picturesque figure, the detective, the tattling woman, the unjust judge, the faithful negro servant, and last, but by no means least, the devoted dog. The book is melodramatic, but shows a vivid imagination and very considerable talent. The trip of the children afoot from Nashville to Memphis is ably depicted; we bless the world for such characters as Dr. Dodson and Lottie. A reviewer says of the book, "We know of nothing in modern literature more beautiful than the tramp life of the three heroic and innocent children. It is an idyl sweet as any poet sung. The incidents of the story though unusual and startling are introduced with such an artistic hand as to seem natural and inevitable. It is a delightful tribute to woman glowing throughout with the spirit of true chivalry."

He wrote two other books, "The Little Brick Church,"<sup>5</sup> a novel, an interesting story of New York of the long ago, and "Rapid Ramblings in Europe"<sup>6</sup> a book of travel.

Col. Falkner was elected to the Legislature of the State from the County of Tippah, November 5, 1889, and on the same day was shot upon the streets of Ripley. He survived only twenty-

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<sup>5</sup> J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1882.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1884.

four hours, thus closed suddenly and tragically the career of a man who had done much for the people of his section and the State at large. His death was mourned by multitudes who knew him throughout the State, and many who knew him not bitterly lamented his untimely taking off. I give below an extract from the masonic tribute paid him by the members of his home lodge. "He was a public spirited citizen, being a promoter of all public works.....and to him the people of Tippah, Union and Pontotoc Counties are largely indebted for the railroad facilities which they now enjoy. Of him as an interesting author, a successful lawyer, a faithful citizen, we need not speak as these are things known to all men; but of him as a true and tried Mason we wish to bear testimony."

The closing extract is taken from a resolution passed by the Legislature. "Whereas, We feel that in his death this house has lost a wise counsellor and able debater, the State a true and noble citizen, his county its best friend, his family a devoted head and brave protector; therefore, be it resolved, That in recognition of his preëminent services to his country in war and peace—as soldier, statesman writer and citizen in every walk of life; this preamble and resolution be spread upon the minutes of the House as a weak testimonial of the high esteem in which he is held by this body and the people of the State, and as a feeble tribute to his undying memory."



## JAMES D. LYNCH, OF MISSISSIPPI, POET LAUREATE OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

BY DABNEY LIPSCOMB.<sup>1</sup>

Few Mississippians were really proud of the exhibit made by their State at the great Chicago Exposition. Unique and attractive it was, and creditable indeed to the patriotism and enterprise of those who had found means to display so well the industries and the products of the State without a dollar of appropriation from her treasury. Still, so nearly lost was it in the midst of the extensive and costly exhibits about it from the States of the great Northwest that many loyal Mississippians with difficulty were able to discover it. To some the search was vain, if the register kept there be evidence.

That Mississippi was represented at the great exposition in another and a more distinguished way was likewise learned only

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Dabney Lipscomb is a native of Mississippi, born at Columbus, Mississippi, in 1859. His father, Dr. W. L. Lipscomb, has for many years been a prominent physician and influential citizen of that place, noted chiefly for its churches and its schools. Professor Lipscomb graduated at the University of Mississippi in 1879 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and two years after, upon the completion of a prescribed course, received from his Alma Mater the degree of Master of Arts. Three years of teaching in the public schools were followed by thirteen years of service at the A. and M. College of the State, where he was soon promoted from the position of Assistant Professor of English and Mathematics to that of Principal of the Preparatory Department and Professor of Mental and Moral Science. In 1895 he was appointed to the position which he now holds, Professor of English Language and Literature and of Belles-lettres in the University of Mississippi.

In 1892-93 he was President of the State Teachers' Association, a member of the Executive Committee of the Southern Educational Association, and a Director for the State of the National Educational Association. He was Director of one of the State Normal Institutes in the summer of 1894, and in 1895 was elected Vice-President of the Department of Higher Education in the National Educational Association. Since his election to the chair he now holds, he has devoted what time he could spare from his regular duties to the study of the lives and works of Mississippi writers, the fruits of which, in part, he has given to the State Historical Society in the three papers contributed to its *Publications*. Professor Lipscomb spent the summer of 1899 in making a literary tour of England and Scotland, some reports of which he has published in various journals.—EDITOR.



by those who searched carefully the papers during the summer of 1893. In July, 1894, the fact with additional interest was more widely published; but even then our leading Southern dailies gave scarcely more than an inch of space to this important item. The *Clarion-Ledger* of June 29th, 1893, in an editorial paragraph, thus announces the notable event: "Mississippi is again honored. The Columbian Commission has adopted as the 'national salutation' a poem written by J. D. Lynch, of West Point, Mississippi, entitled 'Columbia Saluting the Nations.' A critic says, as a whole, there is poetic thought expressed, and the general conception of the poem is lofty, and is elaborated in a manner worthy of the great theme."

With no expectation of adding to the lustre of a literary triumph which places James D. Lynch in the company of John G. Whittier, Bayard Taylor, and Sidney Lanier, the poets of the Centennial Exposition, a Mississippian may be held excusable if with pleasure and with pride he invites attention to the life and work of him who may be justly termed the "Poet Laureate of the Columbian Exposition." If, too, in the records of this Society one shall look for the names of those who by word or deed have added most to the welfare and reputation of their State, it certainly will not be inappropriate to enter in somewhat bold hand the name of the author of a poem which has twice been given a national recognition. Who then is the man, and what is the poem which was deemed worthy to be a nation's greeting to an assembled world?

James D. Lynch, author of "Columbia Saluting the Nations," is a Virginian by birth, a member of the family from which the city of Lynchburg takes its name. As prominent representatives of this large connection, may be mentioned Thomas Lynch, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Charles Lynch Governor of Mississippi; Commodore Lynch, of the U. S. and the C. S. Navy, and Captain Lynch, the first successful explorer of the Dead Sea. Having lost his father in his infancy, Mr. Lynch was adopted and reared by his maternal grandfather, Charles W. Baird, a gentleman of wealth, a thorough representative of the patriotism and culture of "the Old Virginia school." At an early age, the boy was sent to one of the noted academies of the State, from which through the influence of his

room-mate he was induced to enter the University of North Carolina, in 1855. He withdrew from college at the end of his Junior year, to seek needed rest and recuperation in his grandfather's home. The year 1860 finds him assistant teacher in the Franklin Academy, Columbus, Mississippi; attracted to the place by the invitation of his cousin, Wm. C. Carter, then principal of the school. There, as a teacher of the advanced classes in Latin and Greek, he remained one year, when the outbreak of war called him back to his native State. Meanwhile, frequent visits to the neighboring town of West Point had resulted in his marriage to a cultured lady of that place, who returned with him to his Virginia home. Finding that most of his relatives and friends were absent in the army, he soon returned to Mississippi, and leaving his bride in her parental home joined a cavalry company then organizing in the county. Broken in health by the terrible Shiloh campaign and the subsequent retreat southward, he was forced to retire from active service. Regaining his strength, he organized a company of which he was elected captain, and rejoined the army in time to be severely wounded near the battlefield of Chickamauga. Again restored to health, he took active part in the Georgia campaign until ordered by his colonel one day to attack with his company what appeared to be a thin skirmish line of dismounted cavalry. The charge was gallantly made in sight of both armies, but resulted in the envelopment of Captain Lynch and his bold riders in the ranks of a division of infantry advancing to the attack. Of his escape from prison and his career as a soldier to his surrender at Gainesville, Alabama, with the Nitre and Mining Bureau outfit of which he then had charge, details cannot be given.

Peace came, but to him with his patrimony swept away, as to many others, it meant the beginning of another struggle against heavy odds. A year or two of unsuccessful farming under the new conditions near West Point, Mississippi, caused him to move again to Columbus, where as a member of the bar his prospects of success were for a time unusually encouraging. But gradual increase of deafness, produced it was thought by his wound in the war, compelled him in a few years to give up the practice of law.

Literary in his tastes, especially fond even from his youth

of history, poetry, and romance, he now determined to make these subserve his needs as well as his pleasure. To authorship he turned as a means by which to supplement the slender income which was yearly proving more and more inadequate to the support of his growing family. For nearly twenty years he lived in a simple, quiet way more distinctly the life of an author than perhaps any other man in the State.

His first and most popular prose work was "Kemper County Vindicated; or A Peep at Reconstruction in Mississippi." He spent four months in the county gathering materials for the work; which, it may be added, he undertook at the request of a number of the most prominent citizens of the county. "The Bench and Bar of Mississippi" was his next important publication. The sketches of deceased judges and lawyers seemed to be acceptable; but too little or unequal notice given to the prominent ones then living proved fatal to the popularity of the book. The difficulty and delicacy of the task under the conditions are apparent, and the result is not surprising. Abroad, the work attracted considerable attention, and Mr. Lynch soon received a letter from the Governor and from the Chief Justice of Texas, both strangers to him, inviting him to undertake a similar work for their State. Accordingly, after a year or more spent in Austin and elsewhere in the State collecting the necessary information, Mr. Lynch published in 1885 "The Bench and Bar of Texas." The preface to it contains an excellent exposition of the nature of biography, stressing the responsibilities and opportunities of the biographer; and to the principles set forth he adheres closely in the sketches. Though urged to remain and write another volume, he declined and returned to his family in Mississippi, leaving two of his sons in Austin.

To prose, Mr. Lynch devoted most of his time for the sake of the remuneration which was more probable and ample in that direction. That the returns were not munificent, it is perhaps needless to suggest. For recreation and the satisfaction of a propensity which was strong even in his boyhood, he had from his college days with increasing impulse and delight occasionally sought expression in verse for that within which seemed too lofty or too deep, too tender or too beautiful for prose ade-

quately to reveal. "Robert E. Lee, or the Heroes of the South," "The Kuklux Tribunal," a burlesque on the Boutelle Investigating Committee, "The Clock of Destiny," and "Would You Marry Me Again?" are the most important of his earlier poems. While in Texas, he wrote "The Siege of the Alamo," which brought him his first signal honor as a poet. So highly was the poem appreciated by the Texans that by order of the Governor it was printed on parchment, handsomely framed, and hung as the property of the State on the walls of the historic old fortress. He wrote a few years later a Christmas ode on "The Birth of Christ," which was awarded the prize of honor by Dr. T. DeWitt Talmadge, editor of the "Christian Herald," and beautifully illustrated, appeared on the front page of that widely circulated paper. In 1895, at the Centennial Anniversary of his Alma Mater, the University of North Carolina, he was the honored poet of that interesting occasion. But never before nor since the production of his great "Salutation" has he climbed Parnassus to the height he then reached.

Before examining more closely his masterpiece, a concluding reference to Mr. Lynch's life should be made. He now lives in Texas with the two sons who went with him to Austin in 1884. Under the firm name of Lynch Brothers, they are prosperous wholesale and retail dry goods merchants at Sulphur Springs. There in comfort, with little care and abundant leisure, Mr. Lynch is still engaged in literary work.

As before stated, it was in 1893 that there came to him the great occasion of his literary life. Seeing in a Chicago paper that the Columbian Commission, desiring a national salutation by an American, proposed to the poets of the United States a competitive contest for the honor of its production, his ambition was set aflame, and he resolved if possible to win the laurel. For three days and nights he scarcely ate or slept, so intensely was he absorbed in the conception and the development of the poem he intended to submit. With faint hope after all of success, he at length sent it to the designated committee, and in response to his inquiry was informed that a hundred or more poems had already been received. The first intimation of success which came to him was in the form of a note from the committee expressing their desire for the poem to be kept out

of print, as they were greatly pleased with it. Shortly after, the following official acceptance of it was received:

Chicago, Ill., May 27, 1893.

Hon. James D. Lynch,  
West Point, Miss.

Dear Sir: I have the honor to inform you that your poem entitled "Columbia Saluting the Nations" was on the 26th day of May, 1893, unanimously adopted by the World's Columbian Commission as the national salutation.

Very respectfully yours,  
Jno. T. Dickinson, Secretary.

The National Editorial Association, in session at Chicago, adopted the "National Salutation" as their official poem, and as the "Press Poem of America" requested Mr. Lynch to read it or to have it read at their next annual meeting. In compliance with this request, at Asbury Park, N. J., July 5th, 1894, in behalf of Mr. Lynch, Mrs. Greenwood Ligon of Okolona, Miss., impersonating Columbia, recited "Columbia Saluting the Nations" to an audience of over three thousand. Speeches followed in which the poem was referred to as "matchless" and "immortal," and after which Mrs. Ligon and Mr. Lynch by special order were decorated with the badge of the National Editorial Association. Brief notices of this event were given in the Associated Press dispatches. The "Commercial Appeal," of Memphis, referred to it in a brief editorial thus: "Great honor was paid by the National Editorial Association, now in session at Asbury Park, to two Mississippians, Mrs. Greenwood Ligon of Okolona, and Col. James D. Lynch of West Point. The former read the latter's famous poem, 'Columbia Saluting the Nations,' which was unanimously adopted by the World's Fair Commissioners last year." Through Mrs. Ligon's admirable renditions of the poem in a number of towns in Mississippi, it became better known in the State. But, owing doubtless to the copyright, it seems not to have appeared in the papers; and hence is yet far from being familiar to the public in even the author's own State.

Careful reading of the poem itself will alone satisfy those to whom the foregoing sketch of its author and account of its production may have positively appealed. In lieu of this, perhaps an interpretative analysis of it may prove acceptable in some degree. With diffidence, however, this delicate task is under-

taken, lest both the poet and the poem suffer by the process. Beauty whether of face or flower, picture or poem, is too subtle, too varied, and too elusive to be thoroughly explained. As well expect a satisfactory explanation of the fragrance of the violet or the melody of a song. Poetry in its blending of pictorial, emotional and musical qualities—finest of the fine arts—in a peculiar sense baffles criticism. Mind, soul, ear, and eye, must be sensitive and true, alert and strong, not only in him who creates but also in him who can appreciate a real poem.

With this conception of the comparative futility of criticism as a preface, not to discourage but to stimulate, it may be interesting now to ascertain as far as possible what in form and content this poem holds that justifies the preëminence accorded to it. Wisely has the poet chosen a simple yet stately stanza as the vehicle of his thought, and not the intricate and lengthy classic form which Bayard Taylor used in his "Centennial Ode," skillfully indeed, but at the cost of popularity for his poem. Seventy rhyming couplets of unusual length consisting of classical septenary verses with trochaic beat constitute the poem. The melody and harmony of many of the lines is exceptionally fine. In places alliteration is rather freely used, and the mid-verse pauses in the long lines at times suggest monotone. The rhymes come apparently unsought, and the tone color is withal varied and pleasing. In short, the poem is rythmical as well as metrical, and the form is evidently well suited to its nature and its purpose.

But what of its general conception and its emotional and imaginative qualities? To many, these singly or collectively appeal more forcibly than does the music of the verse. The poet must have intended that his thought should be as intelligible as his metre; for the seventy couplets are divided into fourteen sections of unequal length, indicating accurately every stage of its development. The topics of the sections will be stated, brief comments made, and illustrative extracts given. It is hoped that by this method not only the thought of the poem will be readily perceived, but also that its spirit, its rich imagery, choice expressions, and rythmical beauty may be in a measure apprehended.

In the first section of two couplets the imagination is aroused and the key-note of the poem is clearly and firmly struck:

"Lo! Columbia with her banner blazing welcome full unfurled  
Bids the Nations, robed in progress, to the birthfeast of a world."

Hostess, guests, and the great occasion are in a single sentence thus brought distinctly into view; the vision of Columbia simple, gracious, and yet superb, to remain undimmed and fascinating to the end.

The welcome ended, Columbia next with mien and bearing changed devoutly invokes a blessing from the "Father of all Peoples" "on this gathering of the nations," and beseeches him to

"Teach them that they roll together on this little ball of clay,  
Linked in common bonds of fortune, whirling to the perfect day."

The six couplets constituting the third section contain an impassioned apostrophe to the great Discoverer—one of the finest sections of the poem. A line and the last couplet will be quoted:

"Come in spirit, O Columbus, taste this glory of thy name,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
See thy labor lifting labor to a scope of reach sublime,  
And thy genius piling genius in the grandest heap of time."

The voyage is next graphically described, and the noble burning exhortation of Columbus to his desponding sailors is deeply impressive. The approach and the landing are vividly portrayed in the fifth section, as this extract attests:

"On the third day drifting branches, and the shallow-growing sea  
And the wild geese clanging over, brought the world that was to be.

O the eleventh of October, fourteen hundred and ninety-to,  
When the Old World felt the selvedge of the garments of the New."

Fancy now has fuller play. Columbia again looks upward instead of outward. The gods and goddesses, nymphs and graces, the muses and the arts are in joyful convocation, and each bestows a blessing on the new found world. The last two couplets of the section suggest its nature and link it to the next:

"Art and Science caught the rapture, and they came with ankle-wings,  
And the wheels of Progress rattled on the bones of olden things.

O behold the glorious fruitage, see the blessings they have sowed,  
All our barns are filled with harvest, and our vats are overflowed."

Inspired by the vision which has just passed before her, and rejoicing in the proof she can offer as to her progress and her harvests, Columbia exultantly points to her treasures and palaces in the "Magic City" by the inland sea. As a whole, this is, as perhaps it was intended to be, the finest section of the poem. Note in the several couplets of it quoted how luminous, modern in spirit, and rapturous are the lines:

"In this golden-throated city, showered Danae of the lakes;  
Every circling star of heaven here its sweetest influence shakes.

See the piles of wonder, parted into golden-bordered aisles  
And the lanes of splendor, latticed into labyrinthian miles.

Here is Science wedding Labor, here is Genius wedding Art,  
Blending at the shrine of Progress all delight of mind and heart.

All the textures of the climates, all the products of the zones—  
Babel-tongues of genius uttering sounds in all the sweep of tones;

Talking spirits of machinery, magic marvels of the loom,  
Woven radiance of the morning, colors of the maiden's bloom;

Lightning flashing work to order, geared to axle, shaft and wheel,  
Hanging suns out in the midnight, filed upon a strand of steel—

Noon of labor's gathered glory, from all summer shines and snows,  
Purple sunsets of the ages crested on the century's close."

How complete and satisfying is this description only those who visited the wonderful Exposition can truly judge.

To her guests of honor, each in turn, in the several sections following, Columbia extends an individual greeting. There is here less imagination; but the allusions, the sentiment, and the phrasing are so varied and pleasing that they keep the interest well sustained. A couplet or two from each section will suffice for illustration:

"Mother England, we still love you, and are proud to be your child;  
We imbibed your cup of freedom, and you thought it made us wild.

Neighbor Spain, a blessing on you, let us take your ancient hand;  
For your chivalry is blazoned in the records of our land—

France, God bless you, generous ally! for you share our inmost  
heart;

When we strove for rights of manhood, O, you nobly took our part;

Let us lock the arms of friendship, as our fathers when they met,  
Let us ever be the Washington, and you the Lafayette.

Sister Nations of Columbia, O the bliss of pride we feel  
In the promise-bow that circles round the headway of your weal."



Succeeding these special greetings comes a reiterated welcome to all the other nations, breathing the spirit of progress and common brotherhood. Lovingly and proudly, yet with a shade of anxiety on her brow, Columbia with hands extended over her own fair land, now speaks words of earnest admonition and fervent benediction;

"O my Country, throne of nature, duest fane of anthem's swell;  
Lift thy thankful voice to Heaven, guard thy source of blessings well;

Loose thee from all festering customs, list to labor's righteous call,  
Lest the mystic fingers lower to foreclose thee on the wall.

Catch the headlight of the ages, leave the darkening past behind,  
Break upon a broader future with a broader rift of mind.

\* \* \* \* \*  
May thy future be a lyric tuning every tongue of chime,  
And thy little sorrows breath-marks in the long refrain of time."

Once again she speaks, this time in general benediction, brief and characteristic. Nourished upon the thought that freedom is the all-comprehensive blessing, thus she closes:

"Dear Athenian goddess, Freedom, mantled to thy fairest form,  
Ever stand within our gateway, shake thy torch out to the storm.

Shake the splendor of thy blessings on the castle-walls of night  
Till the world shall dip its shadows in thy universal light."

Clearness, comprehensiveness, aptness, and enthusiasm are conspicuous excellencies of the poem as a whole. But, for its happy use of historic allusions and for its numerous fine phrases, it has been probably most admired. Charles A. Dana said: "It abounds in forcible, striking, and apt expressions; and if it does not always show the highest inspiration, it always shows something of it, and is worthy of the honor it has received." Cardinal Gibbons estimates it thus: "It contains so many precious gems of thought that I am not surprised to learn that it was adopted as America's welcome to the nations."

In religious sentiment, ardent patriotism, and phrasal power, it compares favorably with Whittier's "Centennial Hymn." In spontaneity, appropriateness and the effective use of historic materials, it surpasses Bayard Taylor's "Centennial Ode." With Lanier's "Centennial Cantata," which was not intended to be read, the "National Salutation" can hardly be compared. Simpler in form and less subtle in thought than the "Cantata,"

it is equally as elevated in tone and more forcible and picturesque in expression; hence, more popular.

As a poem for an occasion of a kind as yet unparalleled in history, awarded the palm in a contest unprecedented in nature and extent, it holds a place of unique prominence in American literature. In the occasion and the method of its selection its highest encomium may be found. That such distinction has crowned a Southern poet will ever be remembered with gratification by the culture and patriotism of the South. That the author of "The National Salutation" was one of her distinguished sons, Mississippi will ever recall with pride and satisfaction.



## BISHOP OTEY AS PROVISIONAL BISHOP OF MISSISSIPPI.

BY REV. ARTHUR HOWARD NOLL.<sup>1</sup>

Nine years after the admission of Mississippi to the Union, a new force was added to those already operating for the moral and religious upbuilding of a great State, by the organization therein of a Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church. This was effected at a convention of clergy and lay representatives held in Trinity Church, Natchez, on the 17th of May, 1826. There were then four parishes in existence in the State, at Natchez, Woodville, Port Gibson and at what is now known as Church Hill, Jefferson county, and there were five clergymen of the Episcopal church resident therein. Of the laymen present in the convention probably the most distinguished was the Hon. Joshua G. Clarke, Chancellor of the State.

In the States south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers there were at that time Bishops in Virginia, and the Carolinas. So

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur Howard Noll was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, about the middle of the century. His surname betokens his German ancestry, which on his father's side was only two generations removed. His mother was a Hamilton, descended from two Colonial governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and from Revolutionary soldiers sufficient to entitle Mr. Noll to membership in the New Jersey Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

After receiving his early training from his father, who was a teacher, Mr. Noll, in his sixteenth year, began the study of law in Newark, New Jersey. He was admitted to the New Jersey Bar in 1876 as an Attorney, and three years later as a Counsellor. In 1882 he went to Paso del Norte, in Mexico, and entered the service of the Mexican Central Railway, then in course of construction. Two years later he was appointed Cashier of the newly-completed road, with his headquarters in the City of Mexico. In the Fall of 1885 he resigned this position to enter the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His three years and a half of residence in Mexico (provincial and metropolitan), resulted in his writing a large number of papers upon Mexican subjects for the popular press. In 1890 his *Short History of Mexico* was published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. The preface of this book (a 12mo. of 294 pages), was dated in Port Gibson, Mississippi. The book is now in its second edition and is among the "5,000 volumes for a Popular Library selected by the American Library Association and shown in the World's Columbian Exposition."

Mr. Noll spent about two years of preparation for the ministry at the

the ordinary affairs of the new Diocese were administered by a standing committee and the churchmen of Mississippi waited patiently for the means to be supplied by which to receive Episcopal supervision. In 1829 the Diocese of Tennessee was organized, and in 1833, with a courage superior to that which the Diocese of Mississippi had shown, the younger Diocese elected one of its clergy to the Episcopate and sent him the following January to Philadelphia to receive consecration.

As soon as the Diocese of Mississippi was made aware of the existence of a Bishop in Tennessee an invitation was sent by the standing committee for him to take the Diocese of Mississippi under his Episcopal charge. In accepting this invitation the Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, S. T. D., added another to the long list of great names which adorn the history of the State of Mississippi. And the purpose of this paper is to direct the attention of those who are engaged in collecting the materials out of which the history of the State of Mississippi will some day be written, to the career of this man and the influence it exerted upon the religious and educational interests of a vast region, including Mississippi.

For Bishop Otey was a great man, too great for one State to claim an exclusive interest in him. Of sturdy Anglo-Saxon

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University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee; was made deacon in 1887 in Tennessee, and priest in 1888 in Texas. He was successively in charge of missions on the Southwestern border; rector of St. James' Church, Port Gibson, Mississippi (1889-1893); rector of Mt. Olivet Church, New Orleans, and temporarily engaged in church work in Illinois. For the last five years he has resided in Tennessee, where in addition to the care of several missions, he is Secretary and Historiographer of the Diocese. In the latter capacity he has recently published a *History of the Church in the Diocese of Tennessee* (12mo., 229 pages, James Pott & Co., New York), which is winning high encomiums from the press more particularly because of its compact form and readable style.

In the midst of a busy clerical life Mr. Noll's pen has never been idle, but has produced articles for various popular periodicals, some short stories and a great number of papers of a more serious character, book reviews and historical and archaeological sketches. Upon the publication of his paper on "Tenochtitlan: Its site Identified" in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (Nov.-Dec., 1897), he was elected corresponding member of the New Jersey Historical Society. He is also a member of the Tennessee Historical Society and of the Mississippi Historical Society. He has several works at present in hand likely to be published next year.

In 1887 he married a daughter of Thomas Dunn English, M. D., LL. D., the veteran poet, novelist and journalist, and widely known as the author of the famous song, "Ben Bolt."—EDITOR.

stock, he was a native of Virginia, his birth year being 1800, his birthplace within sight of the "Peaks of Otter." Among his ancestors were an English Archbishop, a member of the British House of Commons, a Revolutionary hero and a member of the Virginia Legislature. He was favored beyond the other members of his immediate family in the gratification of his ambition for an education, and though trained to hard work in his youth and thus enabled to develop the sturdy frame so essential to the pursuit of the frontier missionary work which lay before him, he was permitted to enjoy the best educational advantages of the time and locality and was graduated from the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, in 1820, taking the unusual degree of "Bachelor of Belles Lettres." He began immediately his career as an educator by accepting the appointment of Greek and Latin tutor in his alma mater.

The next year he opened a school for boys near Franklin, Tennessee, but at the end of eighteen months he took charge of a school at Warrenton, North Carolina, where he had among his pupils the brothers, Braxton and Thomas Bragg. After his ordination to the Diaconate in 1825, he removed again to Tennessee and established, according to his original purpose, Harpeth Academy, a classical school for boys in Franklin. It maintained a high reputation and had among its pupils Matthew Fontaine Maury.

It was through his efforts that the Episcopal Church was established in Tennessee, and developed sufficient strength to organize a Diocese and elect a bishop. He was advanced to the priesthood in 1827. His labors for twenty-nine years as Bishop of Tennessee justified the wisdom of the church in consecrating him to that high office. Columbia College in 1833 bore testimony to the quality of his scholarship by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology.

His annual visitations in Mississippi, begun in 1834, were scarcely suspended when he was in a sense superseded in the oversight of this Diocese by the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, (afterwards Major General Polk of the Confederate army), who as Missionary Bishop of Arkansas undertook the Episcopal supervision of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Indian Territory and Texas. On Easter day, 1840 (April 19th), Bishop Otey assisted

Bishop Polk at the consecration of Trinity Church, Natchez, and the next Sunday he alone instituted the Rev. Dr. David C. Page as rector of that parish. He had signified his willingness to relieve Bishop Polk of his charge of Mississippi, and when Bishop Polk the following year became the Diocesan Bishop of Louisiana, the Diocese of Mississippi formally elected Bishop Otey Provisional Bishop. At the same time the missionary work needed in Arkansas and the Indian Territory was assigned to him by the General Convention of the church. The Episcopate was to him therefore no sinecure. His journeys in the discharge of his duties in those days when the traveling facilities were not what they are now, were filled with hardships and adventures. His interests were necessarily wide, but next to Tennessee, he gave to Mississippi the best of his attention.

The pocket diaries of Bishop Otey during the years 1834 to 1850 contain such hasty memoranda of daily occurrences as were necessary for the preparation of his reports of his official acts to the various conventions over which he had to preside. There are accounts of official visitations to Natchez, Vicksburg, Church Hill, Woodville, Hernando, Jackson and to many plantations adjacent to those places. In the record of his baptisms and confirmations we find the names of many persons who have become distinguished among the citizens of the State, and of many families whose names are associated with local history. Now and then these hastily prepared records afford a glimpse of the plantation life in the ante-bellum period which is deserving of a more permanent record. Here is an incident occurring upon the plantation of Dr. William Newton Mercer, twelve miles below Natchez, which incidentally throws some light on the religious care bestowed upon the negroes during the slave days. The Doctor was a man of great wealth, owning about a thousand slaves. He had erected on his principal estate a beautiful church of the Grecian order of architecture, having a tessellated marble floor and a great deal of sculpture of a high order. He provided also a rectory and maintained therein a faithful minister, the Rev. Mr. Deacon, who with his other duties was to "baptize the children of the plantation slaves and train them in obedience to Christ." From the Bishop's diary under date of Sunday, April 17, 1842, we take the following:

"\* \* \* A service was appointed for the black people at 4 o'clock p. m., at which time the church was filled. They were addressed by both Mr. D. and myself. *One hundred and ten children* were baptized, Dr. Mercer and Miss E. Young acting as sponsors,—and eight adults, the same persons being witnesses. During the baptism of the children a concurrence of names took place which entirely overcame the gravity of Mr. Deacon and Mr. Crane, of Dr. M. and Miss Young—and came near oversetting mine also. To refrain from laughing for a moment was impossible. I, however, took Mr. D's place at the front and baptized 74 children. Water was consecrated three times before we ended the service. May God grant His blessing upon this work for Jesus Christ's sake. After all the service was ended I again addressed the adults in the most serious manner I was able upon their duties. They appeared deeply impressed."

In 1844 it seemed to some that the time had come for the Diocese of Mississippi to have a Bishop all her own, and Bishop Otey presided over a most remarkable convention held in the Senate chamber at Jackson. An effort was made to elect a Bishop. The Rev. Dr. Page, of Natchez, was nominated by the clergy, but rejected by the laity by a vote of seven to two. The Rev. Dr. Cobbs (afterwards Bishop of Alabama), was then nominated by the clergy and rejected by the laity by a vote of five to four. The laity were evidently under the spell of the eloquent Francis Lister Hawks, D. D., who was present in the State and had preached the convention sermon. When, therefore, the clergy nominated Dr. Hawks, his nomination was immediately confirmed by the laity, he was elected and his testimonials were duly signed. This procedure was evidently extremely distasteful to Bishop Otey. He notes in his diary, "Convention was repeatedly addressed by me on their extraordinary proceedings—but to no purpose."

Dr. Hawks had, in 1835, declined to serve the church as Missionary Bishop of the Southwest, the field in which Bishops Polk and Otey were wearing themselves out. His testimonials were followed up to the General Convention by charges against his business integrity which caused opposition to his consecration. The matter was referred again to the convention of the



Diocese of Mississippi and Dr. Hawks refused to allow his name to come before that convention again. Had the matter eventuated otherwise, the name of Dr. Hawks would have been another great name added to the roll of distinguished citizens of Mississippi, and it would have been an addition which this Society should especially appreciate, for he was a whole Historical Society in himself and his contributions to the historical literature of our country were many and valuable.

But Bishop Otey continued in charge of the Diocese of Mississippi four years longer and then resigned in order to spur the Diocese to a suitable effort to secure a bishop of her own. In a letter written to his daughter from Devereaux, the plantation house of Mr. Elliott, on the 16th of May, 1848, he says:

"The Mississippi convention closed on last Saturday. My connection with the Diocese terminates the 1st of July next. The members of the convention were unwilling to give me up, but I insisted upon it, and they at last yielded. I saw many faces wet with tears when the act which separates us was passed. I never expect to be again in charge of a people who will love me so strongly and give me so many tokens of affection."

He continued his visitations, however, and in 1849 presided over the convention at which his life-long friend, the Rev. Dr. William Mercer Green, from whom he had received baptism a quarter of a century before, was elected bishop. On the 24th of February, 1850, he was the consecrator of Bishop Green in St. Andrew's church, Jackson. Bishop Polk, of Louisiana; Bishop Cobbs, of Alabama, and Bishop Freeman, of Arkansas, were present and assisting in the consecration.

Bishop Otey was by instinct and by habit a teacher, and it was impossible for him to be in charge of any Diocese without leaving his impress upon the schools. Christian education was a favorite theme of his, and one of the greatest of his sermons, preached before the General Convention in Richmond in 1859, was upon that subject. Before his elevation to the Episcopate he conceived a plan for the establishment of a college or university to supply the needs of the lower Mississippi Valley and in February, 1836, he issued a circular letter from Natchez appealing for funds to carry out this plan. The proposed college was to include a theological seminary, a literary, scientific and

classical college and a school for the training of professional teachers for the schools of the South. In this respect he was one of the earliest advocates of the normal system of educating teachers.

The financial stringency of the times prevented the immediate success of his plans; but he never abandoned them, and finally saw them (as he supposed), being carried out at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

How deep an impress Bishop Otey left upon the religious and educational life of the Mississippians and how much of it survived the war that destroyed the less substantial workmanship of others, must be left for the future historian of Mississippi to determine. He himself did not survive the great struggle, but died in 1863. The Diocese of Mississippi had to wait until after the return of peace to a devastated country before it could take action upon the death of this noble Bishop who had occupied such an important position in her annals. And very appropriately it was the first Diocesan Bishop of Mississippi, who, towards the close of his life, became Bishop Otey's biographer.



## RICHARD CURTIS IN THE COUNTRY OF THE NATCHEZ.

BY CHAS. H. OTKEN.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Curtis, Jr., was a native of Virginia. Just before the war for Independence, his father located on the Great Pedee River, South Carolina, some sixty miles from Charleston. During the Revolutionary war the elder Curtis and his sons enlisted in the command of General Francis Marion. They remained in the service under Marion until their homes and their substance were destroyed by British and Tory forays. Mr. Curtis, Sr., his son and John Courtney, John Stampley, Daniel and William Ogden, and Mr. Perkins, friends and neighbors,

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<sup>1</sup>Chas. H. Otken is a native of Louisiana. His mother dying when he was in his sixth year, he was taken into the family of an uncle, from whom most of the knowledge of his family is derived. His only sister, eldest brother and his father died prior to the war between the States.

After attending public and private schools about five years he became a clerk in a general mercantile store. In 1857 he entered Mississippi College, from which institution he was graduated with the A. B. degree. In 1861 he joined the Charlton Rifles, of Raymond, Miss. Soon afterwards he was invited to become chaplain of the 45th Mississippi Regiment. In 1866 he married Emily J., daughter of James Everett Lea, a planter of Amite county, Miss. For more than thirty years he was actively engaged in educational work as Principal of the Peabody Public School of Summit, Miss. (1867-1876), as President of the Lea Female College at Summit, Miss. (1876-1893), and as President of the McComb City Female College (1893-1898). During all this time he was active as a pastor, and wrote much for the local press, on social, industrial and educational topics. He was appointed a trustee of the University of Mississippi by Gov. Stone, and aided in securing the recognition of the fund by the Legislature, the interest on which now supports that institution. He was also a trustee of Mississippi College for a period of about ten years. The latter has conferred on him the degree of LL. D., besides the degree of A. M. In 1894 he published a volume on "*The Ills of the South.*" The following year, the *Times Democrat* offered a prize for the best essay on "*The Agricultural Crisis in the South.*" Ninety-one papers were presented from the Southern States. The awarding committee reported that it was unanimously of the opinion that the second best essay, approximating very close to the first in many respects so as to render a decision difficult, was that by Chas. H. Otken, LL. D., of McComb City, Mississippi. Both essays were published. The successful competitor was Prof. Walter Maxwell, a graduate of the Kensington (England) School of Mines, a Ph. D. of the University of Zurich, Switzerland, and an A. M. of Harvard.

Dr. Otken is at present engaged in literary work.—EDITOR.

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were all in the same condition. Exposed as was their situation on account of the nearness to Charleston, their property constantly subjected to depredation by their bitter enemies, the Tories, they saw that emigration to the West was the one hope of escape from the dangers that threatened them and their families.

Their purpose was to go to the country of the Natchez Indians. After enduring the hardships incident to a journey through an unbroken forest, the little company reached the Holstein river in the year 1780. Here they halted to make needed preparation for the voyage by water. When this had been accomplished, three flat-boats started down the Holstein river. After entering the Tennessee river, the emigrants were attacked by the Cherokee Indians near the mouth of Clinch river. The third boat was captured, and all aboard were massacred except one woman. The voyage down the Ohio and the Mississippi was uneventful. In the early part of the year, 1781, the two boats reached their destination at the mouth of Cole's creek on the east bank of the Mississippi river, about twenty miles north of the site where the present city of Natchez is situated.

Here they secured land and began the work of building homes. When their rude cabins had been erected, and the ripened corn was ready to be harvested, an Indian attack destroyed in a few hours, the fruit of the first year's hard labor, and they fled for their lives to Fort Rosalie, as the place of safety for their wives and children. After the dispersion of the Indians, with renewed determination they returned to their ruined homes, built new cabins and planted their fields.

Tradition in the Jones and Curtis families represents these immigrants from South Carolina and Virginia as a high-minded, upright and religious people. Sound morals prevailed in this community of early settlers on Cole's creek. Mr. Curtis was their instructor in morals and in the Christian religion. It is a part of the same information handed down from father to son, that there was not a cabin in the settlement in which the Bible was not read, and in which daily prayers did not ascend to God. Firm in their own convictions, they neither prescribed nor pro-

scribed creeds. The idea of religious liberty had taken deep root in the thought of this people.

West Florida, the Natchez country being a part thereof, was at this time under Spanish rule, and from 1779 to 1798 Spain attempted even here to control the religious thought of the people by threats and penalties.

In 1834, the author of "Protestantism in Mississippi and the Southwest," related to the Curtis family, obtained information from private letters and from residents of the Cole's creek settlement, during the Spanish occupancy, still living, relating to the attitude of the government toward dissenters in religion. Between the years 1791 and 1794 an order was issued to all Protestants "to desist from their heretical psalm singing, praying and preaching in public, or they would be subject to sundry pains and penalties." Here then is the first coercive act of Rome's attempt at spiritual domination of the people on what is now Mississippi soil. No slavery is so galling as intellectual slavery, and no tyranny is so intensely hateful as the tyranny which dares to enforce a belief upon the people by threats and penalties, which their intellect resents. The fact that such an attempt was made has as great historic value as that of an Indian foray or an Indian massacre. The latter threatens destruction to life and property; the former aims at spiritual bondage and intellectual subjugation.

In 1795, Gayozo, Spanish Governor and Commandant at Natchez, issued an edict whose tenor was, "that if nine persons were found worshipping together except according to the forms of the Catholic Church, they should suffer imprisonment." It was at this time that the Spanish Governor wrote an "expostulatory letter to Mr. Curtis demanding that he should desist from what was considered violative of the laws of the Province, and against the peace and safety of the country."

A law to be entitled to respect must be the expression of the right, and no law is worthy of obedience that sets at defiance the inalienable right to worship God in any mode not inconsistent with sound morals, and the community at Cole's creek was notably distinguished for good morals. If a man should affirm at this day that the worship of any Christian congregation on Mississippi soil menaces the peace and safety of the

country, he would be esteemed a fit subject for the insane asylum.

Mr. Curtis took a manly stand against these despotic measures aimed at intellectual independence and religious freedom, and treated with disdain the subterfuge fabricated as their inspiring cause. He replied to the Governor with characteristic firmness and frankness, "That in the name and strength of God he was determined to persevere in what he had deliberately conceived to be his duty." The answer is characteristic of the calm purpose of a strong man. And what was it that the courtly Gayozo arrogantly stigmatized as heretical, and from which he demanded Mr. Curtis to desist? To teach men to observe "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure and whatsoever things are lovely and of good report," to relinquish a service so beneficent would have been an act of abject submission to an arbitrary command. It would have been an act of loyalty to a claim, condemned as cruel and irrational by the voice by the ages. He could die—he could be overcome by physical force and be sent as a manacled slave to the silver mines of Mexico, he could flee from Spanish civilization and risk his life among savage tribes, but he could not stultify himself, and relinquish his intellectual convictions of duty. To him freedom of thought was of inestimable value.

For this reason, on the 6th day of April, 1795, Mr. Curtis, the advocate of civil and religious liberty, was summoned to appear before Gayozo. The Governor warned him "that unless he desisted from conducting public worship, that he and several prominent adherents, especially Hamberlin and DeAlvo, would be sent to work the silver mines of Mexico." To teach the sublime lesson of the pacific Jesus was a crime at that time in the country of the Natchez, according to the interpretation of the nature of crime by Gayozo, and the penalty was slavery. In that hard and monotonous social condition of frontier life period, a dozen neighbors must not meet to hear the Bible read, words of hope and cheer must not be spoken, admonitions to be true and faithful in the relations of life must not be uttered, and the voice of song and prayer must not be heard. All these precious rights are forbidden by the edict of

the Governor. Men and women are not free to think their own thoughts—they must think the thoughts of Gayozo, pray and sing as he directs. Curtis felt and his two friends felt, that the choice was liberty or death.

On the 23d day of August, 1795, a Spanish officer, in command of Spanish soldiers, appeared in the Stampley settlement to arrest Curtis, DeAlvo and Hamberlin. Having been warned by friends and knowing their doom, they saw no mode of escape from this religious despotism except in flight. Through the trackless forest, occupied by savage tribes, they fled from Spanish civilization and Spanish bigotry, and began their long and wearisome journey to South Carolina. Whether the Governor that attempted to fasten upon the people of this province a spiritual despotism by physical force, or Mr. Curtis, that manfully resisted the assault upon freedom of thought and freedom of worship, is entitled to the honor and gratitude of the people, cannot be questioned. The names of Gayozo and Curtis are unknown to this generation. They have gone down to the dust and to forgetfulness, but Curtis lives in the free institutions which the American people love and reverence. "He's the noble who advances freedom and the cause of man."

The unjustifiable as well as the reprehensible nature of the effort of the Governor to throttle freedom of religious thought will be evident from the two treaties signed on the 3d day of September, 1783. On that day England signed a treaty at Versailles, ceding to Spain, West Florida. On the same day, the King of England signed a treaty at Paris by which the Independence of the United States of America was recognized. The Southern boundary line was fixed on the 31st parallel of North latitude, and from the Mississippi River to the Chattahoochee, and all lands north of this line and west of the Mississippi river were declared to be the territory of the United States. More than half of West Florida lay north of the 31st parallel, North latitude. This territory included the Natchez province.

The right of the United States to this territory was equal to that of Spain, by treaty agreement. This equal right, if not superior right of the United States to the territory, should have dictated the lesson of moderation in matters of religious opinion to Gayozo. Yet twelve years after the signing of these



treaties, Gayozo did not hesitate to insult the United States on whose territory he was regarded as an intruder, in the forcible attempt to fix the gloomy, religious despotism of Spain on the soil of freedom, and driving into exile Mr. Curtis and his companions whose one crime was that they would not relinquish the right of independent thought on a grave question of individual duty, that their choice was the pure worship of God rather than the form of ceremonious homage.

To be silent and servile when the exercise of this right was invaded, would be disloyalty to God and would be treating an inviolable principle which like the Ark of God must not be touched by profane hands, as the Master was treated, crowned with a crown of thorns, spit upon, and left to die in ignominy and in shame.

In 1798, when the flag of the American Republic waved over the city of Natchez, Mr. Curtis returned to the field of his peaceful labors, and during the following twelve years preached the gospel of good-will toward men. In 1811 he went to the county of Amite in quest of health. He died in this year at the home of a friend. Near Ebenezer church, in the southern portion of Amite county, lie the remains of Richard Curtis; a modest monument commemorates his name. He was not only the first Baptist preacher on Mississippi soil, but also the first whose clarion voice rang clear and distinct in behalf of civil and religious freedom.

For this service to a common humanity in defending an immutable right, his name should be revered by every American heart. For this manly resistance to spiritual tyranny on American soil, Curtis towers in greatness and nobility above Gayozo, the representative of a form of slavery that shackles intellectual freedom, and that destroys the most sacred right bequeathed to mankind. The name of Gayozo stood for that nonentity, the divine rights of kings; Curtis, for a government of the people and by the people. Gayozo enforced bondage; Curtis, glorified freedom. The weapons used by Gayozo to make men and women accept a hostile creed, nurtured under an alien sky, were armed battalions; Curtis relied on persuasion, the weapon that is not carnal to propagate the sublime lessons of a religion pure, merciful and philosophical. The friends of freedom

will make their choice like Bassanio in the play and turn from the specious caskets which contain only the Death's head and the Fool's head and fix on the plain leaden chest which conceals the glorious treasure. All honor to Curtis, who amid hostile environments, kept faith with his convictions and with truth.



## THE MAKING OF A STATE.

BY MARY V. DUVAL.<sup>1</sup>

Oliver Wendell Holmes says, "To be able to judge correctly of any man's character and disposition, you must begin back as far at least as his grandfather," and so, in making a judgment of the qualities that, combined, make ours one of the greatest States of the Union, we must study carefully the pioneer element, the men who redeemed our "forests primeval," and gathered together here, in less than half a century, a storied

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<sup>1</sup> Miss Mary Virginia Duval's ancestors were French Huguenots of the most uncompromising stamp. They left France after the "Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," and took refuge in Maryland, one of them, Mars' Marine Duval, securing a large grant of land from the proprietor of the colony. Some of them afterwards removed from Maryland to Virginia. William Duval, who lived near Richmond, Va., was the original of "Ralph Ringwood" in Washington Irving's *Ringwood Papers*. Several members of the family fought on the colonial side in the Revolutionary War.

Miss Duval's grandfather removed from Virginia to North Carolina, and her father, a typical son of the "Old North State," emigrated in his early manhood to Georgia, where he married. In the first year of the war between the States he removed to Sardis, Miss. Miss Duval was born near Rome, Ga., and came to Mississippi at an early age. She was educated almost entirely in private schools. Shortly after she began to teach she became impressed with the fact that although children were early taught the history of the United States and of other countries, they knew nothing whatever of the history of their own State. After waiting and hoping that some patriotic writer would fill the long-felt want, she at last decided upon the daring attempt of writing a *School History of Mississippi*. At that time little had been written concerning the history of the State, except Claiborne's *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, which was too large, too disconnected and too expensive for school use. Miss Duval devoted herself assiduously to this great work, bridging one chasm after another in the history of the State. She wrote hundreds of letters and read everything she could find on the subject. After the lapse of many years her book was completed and published, being the first School History of the State, and the first book of any kind to cover the entire field of Mississippi history. At a later date Miss Duval wrote a compendium of *Civil Government*, which was bound with her history in order to meet the needs of the public schools of the State, to whose curriculum the subjects of Mississippi History and Civil Government were added in 1890. Within the last two years she has issued a small dramatic work, entitled *The Queen of the South*, which has been very favorably received by the public.

Miss Duval is a member of the Mississippi Historical Society and is deeply interested in all that relates to the history or the welfare of the State.—EDITOR.

past, rich in traditions and customs, while they planned a future that was as glorious, as untried. The future historian of the State will, doubtless, deal less with mere facts and figures, and more with the causes and effects that make history a live and logical thing.

The early history of the State represented, not the slow development, the painful progress through war, famine and pestilence, that make such pitiful reading of the story of other and older colonies; instead, there was a direct and immediate transformation of the finest flower of civilization into a soil that had waited through ages for its coming, and gave to the rare exotic, when it came, a kindly welcome. It was but a repetition of the old fable of Minerva springing, full-fledged, from the brain of Jupiter; reaching, at a single bound, that high estate to which her less fortunate sisters had attained only through suffering, toil, and periods of retarded growth.

In searching for the roots of our civilization, it is to the country pre-eminently that we must go, instead of to the town or to the city. Exceptions to this are the early French settlements that fringed our territory along the gulf coast and on the banks of the Mississippi river. Drawn thither by the love of adventure and by the hope of gain held out by John Law, of "Mississippi Bubble" fame, they were soon engulfed by that rising tide of Anglo-American immigration which, setting in from the older Southern States, mainly those east of the Alleghenies and the Blue Ridge, soon absorbed all other nationalities, or left them to linger, as did Longfellow's Acadians, on alien soil—"Another race, with other customs and language."

The names of the French D'Ibervilles, De Tontis, and Bien-villes, and the Spanish Gayosos, Miros and other proud and courtly Dons, mark an epoch indeed in our colonial and territorial history of which we may well be proud; but it is an epoch, so far as the real State making is concerned, which is pre-historic, and while it gives picturesque touches to our otherwise somewhat prosaic annals, and has left its impress indelibly stamped upon certain localities and communities, we must look elsewhere for that inner life and history which we are seeking so earnestly.

' For all that is lasting and best in our civilization, for that

which has moulded the spirit and temper of the people, and the genius and integrity of their institutions, we must look to an Anglo-Americanism which traces its origin back through those Southern States of which Virginia was the mother, through the Old Dominion herself, and thence to centers of culture and refinement in those portions of England whose intellectual and political life was quickened by the influence of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

From the farm houses of Virginia, modeled after the manor houses of England, a steady stream of emigration began soon after the close of the Revolution, spreading first to the Carolinas, Kentucky and Tennessee, and from thence sending out vigorous tributaries to the younger States, Mississippi and Alabama. As was to be expected, the wealthy planters and professional men who, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, began to build homes on the fair lands where the Choctaws and Chickasaws had once claimed ownership, sought as models the plan on which so many of the homes built by their forefathers in Virginia and elsewhere had been constructed. So we find that, after the inevitable era of double log cabin had passed, there arose, fair to behold, many stately mansions with Grecian porticoes and pillared fronts, drawn after plans which had their origin in that classical architecture copied by Thomas Jefferson from well-known Greek and Roman models.

There was represented, on a newer and grander scale, the well-remembered ancestral homes in old Virginia, in the Old North State, or some other one of that group south of Mason and Dixon's line, which reproduced so faithfully the England of the eighteenth century. From the vantage ground of his spacious veranda the planter loved to contemplate the broad sweep of lawn, through whose groves of native oaks the carriage drive wound to the broad gateway—open to all comers alike. Beyond and around stretched his acres of cotton and corn—the rich returns for his labors made by a generous, responsive soil. The negro quarter stood in the rear of the "big house," its rows of whitewashed cabins built on either side of a central street, over which the pickaninnies rolled and rollicked from sheer delight in living. The gracious manners, handed down through generations of English, Scotch or Irish-Americans, were his,

and his the proud birthright of "gentleman" in the best sense of the term.

Not only old manners and old speech, but the old pride of the earlier States, was reproduced upon the soil of the new "Arcadia" upon the banks of the Mississippi. In the libraries every current periodical and publication of the day, American or foreign, was found, giving food for thought and conversation on the leading events of the day, from prices in the slave and cotton markets to the latest productions of literature and art, and up thence to the noblest things that can engage the attention of the mind of man. The love of land and the passion for out-of-door pursuits, was, down to the period of the Civil War, the chief characteristic, not of the Mississippian alone, but of the Anglo-Americans of the entire South. They cultivated the soil for pure love of it, and caressed the bosom of the earth with the same fondness their forefathers had shown in the "tight little isle across the sea." The true Saxon avoidance of cities and the corresponding love of rural life, with the elegant leisure which a rich soil and generous climate engendered, made life in Mississippi during the first half of the nineteenth century a pastoral idyl, a poet's dream.

Few of the dangers and privations that characterized the pioneer life of other States were to be endured in this. The notable exceptions are the massacre at Ft. Rosalie and the bloodshed that followed Bienville's trail into the heart of the Chickasaw country. This, however, was at a period far distant from the time when the real building of the State began. Diplomacy, rather than an appeal to arms, won the victory for the white man, though at one time the shadow of a general uprising of the native Indians lowered over the early settlers, dispelled forever by the South's ideal hero, Andrew Jackson. The generally peaceful character of the native Indians favored the love of rural life, to find which the early settler braved the long and tedious journey over mountain and stream, separating himself forever from his fatherland and its hallowed associations. The pioneer settlers of other American colonies had to build cities in self-defense. The colony on Manhattan Island became first, New Amsterdam, and then New York, because the Knickerbockers and their descendants were not able

to cope, singly and alone, with the savage foe. Oglethorpe, for the same reason, built wisely and well at Savannah; the advance guard of civilization in Middle Tennessee broke ground on the Cumberland at Nashville. Louisiana had her New Orleans, and Alabama her Mobile, but the typical Mississippian has ever considered his country dwelling his castle, and himself able to hold it against all who might dispute with him the right of possession.

"Steam," says Emerson, "is almost an Englishman;" "grass," says James Lane Allen, "is almost a Kentuckian," and we may add in this connection that "cotton" is almost, if not altogether, a Mississippian.

The hereditary love of land and agricultural pursuits characteristic of the descendants of those who had redeemed the older Southern States from the wilderness, had grown into a passion during the first decades of the nineteenth century, and the stories of the rich alluvial lands east of the Mississippi fed the imagination and fired the blood of those in whom the pioneer instinct was still and active. The wondrous fertility of the soil, with its marvelous yield of cotton; the delightful climate, adapted to almost every production of the temperate zone, seemed to the young paladin of Virginia and the Carolinas a veritable land of promise, which abounded, not in milk and honey alone, but where "cotton, hog and hominy" were the staple productions, and fortunes were in easy reach of those who sought them.

The descendant of the Virginia cavaliers was caught by that glamour of the imagination which pictured himself as the proud possessor of broad and fertile acres of black cotton lands, as yet untouched by plow or harrow; of numerous dusky slaves singing their happy and contented labor songs, and looking to him as their liege-lord and master; of the gleaming white walls of a mansion formed on the model of the home of his fathers, presided over by some dainty Southern maiden who could jingle a bunch of keys, superintend the house-keeping, and in his absence the plantation work; keep the looms and spindles busy, make pickles, preserves and cake after the most approved of old Virginia recipes, train her children and her slaves in Christian doctrine and morals, comfort the sick,



cheer the dying, and still find time to cultivate those graces of mind and body which have made the name of Southern woman synonymous with all that is beautiful and true.

We hear much in this progressive age of the enlargement of woman's sphere and of the increasing of woman's responsibilities. The pioneer women of the South builded better than they knew, for they, too, were the makers of States and of statesmen.

What a brave time that must have been when the new States were filling up with the best that the old had to offer! How like a romance the long journey overland of those bold spirits who came to seek homes and build governments in the new Eldorado of the South! We can see in fancy, and by the help of tradition, the patriarchal procession moving in stately dignity over mountain, hill and stream; the family carriage with its blooded horses, its fair occupants and gay outriders; the slowly-moving, snowy-covered wagons, and the swarm of sable retainers, whose song and dance at night when the camp-fire shed its flickering light on the animated scene, presents a picture on whose canvas there now remains only the colors dimmed by time and change—a memory to be cherished, a tradition to be handed down to future generations. The old methods and manners, forms and customs of living thus transplanted from the old States to the new, made life strong and sweet and simple—a life that was worth the living, a country that was worth the dying for. It made generations of strong, brave men and true beautiful women, living upright and noble lives, ready to sacrifice themselves unselfishly for family or public welfare, making in the Western wilderness a government whose foundation was laid in equity, whose laws were just and humane, enacted for the generations that have since arisen to bless the memory of the founders of the State. Every pulsation of life in that heroic time beat in unison with the heart of nature, and all things bore the impress of a tranquil pastoral life. The incentives to, and the necessities for, building great cities were lacking, and even the towns and villages scattered at wide intervals through the country-side drew their existence from the exigencies of plantation life, and the demands that, once a month at least, drew the country folk to the county seat, overflowing the quiet streets and inundating

the court-house squares with a flood of life and color that will yet be utilized by the poets and romance writers of the future.

The old types of country life, so strong and of such individuality—those that represented the “tender grace of a day that is dead”—have passed away after holding sway in this State for at least three-quarters of a century.

The changed conditions of the South since 1865 have led to the gradual blotting out of the ancient regime—the almost feudal system and mode of living that incorporated all that was grand and noble in the Middle Ages with all that was enlightened and progressive in modern times.

The love of country life has become less strong, and the movement of the white population towards town and railroad has cast a change that is very marked over rural habits and modes of living. The country magnate, whose stalwart sons and blooming daughters were expected to inherit his landed estates in the good old way, has disappeared; the homes that in their day were the abodes of peace and plenty, and the centers of a generous hospitality, are now the stopping places of a shiftless black tenantry; the residences, for the time, of the aspiring colored gentleman and “his lady.” The State is still dominated by agricultural instincts, and cotton is still king, but the old life which drew its strong, helpful currents from deep reservoirs underneath our social system has passed away, and what we do to preserve its memory and traditions must be done quickly.

There is a wealth of material lying around us which we have but to utilize to make the story of our past glow upon the pages of history, fiction and poetry. When some future writer, in “thoughts that breathe and words that burn,” shall do for the South what Walter Scott and Robert Burns did for their native land, then will the world know that this land of poetry and song is also the land of heroes and hero-worshippers.

There is nothing wrong with our history save the telling of it. It has gone on quietly, making itself ready for use since DeSoto and his mail clad knights first set foot upon our soil. Unfortunately our historians have often lived in latitudes too far North to be able to get a correct conception of what we deserve. It has depended very much on which side of Mason and Dixon’s

line an event transpired as to whether, in the opinion of the chronicler, it is worth the telling. The very plenitude of material within our reach, the vast stores of unwritten history at our very doors, have made us indifferent as to its preservation. In dealing out great men and the great events which followed hard upon their careers, nature has been so lavish with us that we have failed to appreciate our opportunities. In a land whose patrimony is legend and tradition, romance and song, we have turned away from our birthright and worshipped at the shrine of Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill.

The popular historians, with true New England thrift, have utilized their scant material to the utmost and have cultivated their genealogical tree until it has waxed strong and overshadowed with its branches those of other and less-favored localities. The South, with a prodigality equally characteristic, has allowed her rich heritage to go to waste, with scarcely an effort to preserve it intact. An intelligent foreigner who should carefully examine the numerous histories of these United States—histories by means of which our boys and girls are supposed to be instructed in reference to our country's greatness—would certainly infer that the foundation of this Republic was due almost entirely to those pioneers who settled on the bleak and barren shores of New England. He would read with intense interest and admiration, no doubt, of that little band of Pilgrim Fathers which constituted the forlorn hope of those who had separated themselves from what they considered the tyranny and corruption of the Church of England. He would look in vain, however, for a story equally thrilling of the French and Dutch Huguenots, who, braving persecutions and martyrdoms compared with which those of the Separatists from the Church of England were as child's play, sought altars and firesides in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, founding there those principles of civil and religious liberty which will endure forever. It is true that they burned no witches and persecuted no Quakers, but there are other episodes as interesting, if less gruesome, awaiting alone the magic touch of that historian who shall write with an impartial pen. Every bay and inlet, creek and harbor in New England, and along the northeastern shore of the Atlantic, has its legend, embalmed in verse or prose by

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the poets and romancers, native and to the manner born. With what scant material did Washington Irving immortalize Sleepy Hollow, Wolfert's Roost, and other localities touched by the magic of his pen! James Fenimore Cooper, who slew with his pen, it is said, more Indians than ever existed on the American Continent, has done for the so-called Middle States what Scott did for the Highlands of his country, and Dickens and Thackeray accomplished for the sordid monotony of the streets of London town.

It may be observed that this is a plea for literature as well as history. In fact, the two go hand in hand, and cannot be separated.

Where can we find a more powerful picture of the battle of Waterloo than that found in the "*Les Miserables*" of Victor Hugo! What historian has given us such inimitable pictures of the life and manners and the lack of morals of the French Court from the days of Charles the Ninth to the execution of Marie Antoinette as are to be found in the pages of Dumas the elder? Where can we find a more accurate picture of the social and political life of the England of the Stuarts than in that strongest of historical novels, "*Henry Esmond*?" "*The Last of the Mohicans*," the only work of Cooper worth the preserving, is a figment of the imagination not half so impressive as the real story of "*The Last of the Choctaws*," haunting the spot where his lodge-pole had stood, refusing to leave his native land, though death from exposure and starvation was the only alternative. Where can we find in history or fiction a legend more beautiful than that of the Pascagoulas, who, with the death-song on their lips, advanced to meet the engulfing waves? Where shall we find figures more noble and stalwart than those of Pushmataha and Greenwood LeFlore? Treatise more picturesque and binding than those of "*Dancing Rabbit*," and that which bound the haughty Chickasaw to relinquish his birth-right? King Philip's war was a mere bagatelle compared to that with the Creeks and Seminoles, which decided forever the question of race supremacy in the South.

Until very recently the popular idea of the first settlers of Virginia, the real progenitors of the Southern people, was, that they were a band of lawless adventurers and escaped jailbirds,

who sought the wilds of America to escape the hanging which they so richly deserved at home. It is only late researches that have established the fact that the first act of the colonists at Jamestown was to erect a canvas-covered chapel, in which the daily services of the Church of England were devoutly and voluntarily held.

We need some poet who shall do for us what Longfellow and Lowell and Whittier have done for New England, and then, perhaps, John Smith, the fearless explorer who discovered and named the seaboard of half a Continent, will take at least equal rank with Miles Standish, the Puritan captain whose field of operation was confined, perhaps, to the dimensions of a New England township. History has made much capital of the so-called conspiracy of Aaron Burr, and his descent of the Mississippi, with a force of armed and determined men. Judging from the consternation it produced among the settlers along its banks, and the alarm it caused the administration at Washington, rumor must have assigned it to the proportions of a veritable armada. Whether or not this modern Lucifer was guilty of the gigantic plot attributed to him, the historian of that time has not failed to paint in vivid colors what might have happened had Burr succeeded in seizing New Orleans, at that time a most un-American city, gaining over the discontented forces of the United States, and placing himself at the head of a mighty empire in the Southwest.

Our horror of what might have been, is not unmixed with admiration for the audacity of the man who could plan such an enterprise, and seek with a handful of men to carry it out. If Burr's plans were treasonable and dangerous to the government, then certainly those who first intercepted and detained him were patriots worthy of all honor. Once past the limits of the Territory of Mississippi, with his flotilla of boats, he would have reached New Orleans without fear of detention. Yet who, outside the circumscribed limits of local and State historians, ever hears the name of Cowles Mead, the acting Governor of Mississippi, who, in spite of all Burr's expostulations and seductive arguments; in spite of the well-armed force he carried with him, forced a surrender of men, arms and ammunition? Who but local and State historians makes mention of the decision

of Mr. Poindexter, then attorney-general of the territory, that Burr was not answerable to the powers that had detained him, and should be removed to a competent tribunal? While many disagreed with him on that point, there was one man who never doubted the force of the argument, and that man was Burr himself, who, to prove his concurrence, made haste to leave the territory where he had, unexpectedly, no doubt, found men who could think as well as act. Who doubts if Burr's arrest had taken place north of a certain parallel of latitude, the names of the men who successfully arrested his plans would have been placed in the same calendar with those of the three backwoods-men who performed the less hazardous feat of detaining the English spy, Major Andre, as he carried his treasonable dispatches to Benedict Arnold?

Nathan Hale, the hero spy of the Revolution, has been commemorated in history and fiction, and his name will justly go down through the ages linked with those of other men who died for love of home and country. Who, outside of his native Tennessee, gives more than a passing thought to Sam Davis, the noble Confederate spy, who, almost in sight of his birth-place, almost within sound of his mother's voice, died an ignominious death, refusing to buy his life by whispering the name of the real offender, his captain, who lay manacled near him in an adjoining cell? That the historian of the future may be blind to sectional differences, and mete out full and impartial justice to all, is a consummation devoutly to be wished.



## LOCATION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF MISSISSIPPI.

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY.<sup>1</sup>

The boundaries of States are historic lines. Many of them have been causes of long and bitter conflicts. Whether they were established by the rough guesses of sovereigns who were totally ignorant of the nature and extent of the grants they bestowed, or whether they were quietly and stealthily determined by the chicanery of men who gratified their state pride at the expense of adjoining commonwealths, they are nevertheless, for the most part, closely connected with the early history of the States whose limits they indicate. It is not infrequently the case that these lines are more or less arbitrary; that is, they are determined without regard to the geographical divisions of the country. Hence, we often find, within the bounds of the same state, sections that are totally dissimilar in natural resources, and are therefore different in occupations and in modes of living. This is a source of much political dissension, since sections that differ in physical features, require different kinds of legislation, each needing laws to suit its particular conditions.

### I. THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY.

When the Federal Government in 1804 presented to the Mississippi Territory the twelve-mile strip which had been acquired from South Carolina, the northern boundary of Mississippi was made to join Tennessee. This boundary line had first been defined in the charter of South Carolina as the 35° of north latitude. The survey was partially made in 1818 by General Coffee, and was completed by General Winchester, who ran it to the river Mississippi. All parties concerned acquiesced in both of these surveys.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A biographical sketch of the writer of this article may be found in Goodspeed's *Historical and Biographical Memoirs of Miss.* and in *Who's Who in America* (1900).

<sup>2</sup> Haywood's *Tennessee* (ed. of 1823), 13.



There seems to have been little subsequent attention directed to this boundary until many years later. Doubts finally arose as to the correctness of the old surveys, and it was then thought that if the line were properly run it would place Memphis within the limits of Mississippi. Tennessee declined an invitation to co-operate with Mississippi in having the line re-surveyed. Governor Brandon, of Mississippi, appointed a man to determine the  $35^{\circ}$  of north latitude. This located a few miles *south* of the old line. When Tennessee learned that she would likely *gain* land by a new survey, she ran a line, taking as a starting point the newly-found location of the  $35^{\circ}$ . Governor Brandon was notified of this survey, but never concurred in its correctness.

General Carroll, of Tennessee, then claimed as the property of his State about three hundred square miles previously included in Mississippi. A writer of the time characterizes this action of General Carroll as "a strange assumption," because, says he, "the two States have never mutually agreed to it. Everything has been *ex-parte*." "We ought, therefore," he continues, "to insist on our boundary as it was, until Tennessee will concur with us in the choice of a suitable person to determine the  $35^{\circ}$  of north latitude. The manner in which our commissioner executed his duty has never been made known to the people, as it should have been, so that competent persons might detect errors, if any, in his mode of proceeding. That there was error, I have but little to doubt, when I reflect that the editor of the *American Almanac* of 1835 has determined from actual observation, that even the latitude of Boston is three miles less than that assigned by preceding able observers; that of Baltimore five miles less; that of Salem three less; and that of Halifax, N. S., has been recently determined to be five less than formerly. The same observer, I think, would place our line nearer Memphis than it ever was, and for one, I should not object to both States selecting that able individual to determine the position of the 35th degree of north latitude. Had our commissioner, with his same instruments, determined the 31st degree of north latitude, and the northern boundary of Tennessee in  $36^{\circ} 31'$ , and found *them* correct, it would be proper for us to acquiesce in his results, which we never did, and *ought not to*, until we have some means of ascertaining that he went the right way to work.

Let us insist upon what we have a right to, and ask no more. The sooner our boundary is definitely settled the better."<sup>3</sup>

In 1837, two years after the foregoing statements were published, a joint commission consisting of B. A. Ludlow, D. W. Connelly and W. Petrie, from Mississippi, and J. D. Graham and Austin Miller, from Tennessee, established a permanent line between the two States.<sup>4</sup> Very much to the regret of at least a few Mississippians, in the 30's, Memphis still remained within the limits of Tennessee, and Mississippi lost about two hundred square miles of territory, the former boundary having been found to be too far north.

## II. THE EASTERN BOUNDARY.

The determination of the eastern boundary was one of the most important political issues in the history of the Territory of Mississippi. There were from early times, two centers of population in this Territory. They were the basins of the Mississippi and the Tombigbee rivers. Each of these rivers was the outlet for the trade of a large section of country. "Natchez and St. Francisville, on the Mississippi, and St. Stephens and McIntosh's Bluff, on the Tombigbee, were the most populous and important"<sup>5</sup> centers of influence. "The lands on the Tombigbee were not so fertile, nor were they in such bodies as in the region of the Mississippi. The settlements did not increase and extend to the surrounding country with the same rapidity as in the latter country. Many of those first stopping on the Tombigbee, ultimately removed to the Mississippi."<sup>6</sup>

These geographical differences were wisely considered when Congress passed the Enabling Act, which permitted the formation of a State government. Whether or not the Territory should be divided was one of the questions which delayed for some time the formation of a State government. Those inhabitants of the Territory who lived along the Mississippi river opposed a division of the county, but those along the Tombigbee were equally as pronounced in their demands for a separation

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<sup>3</sup> Henry Vose's *Topography of the State of Miss. upon a New Plan* (1835), 16-17.

<sup>4</sup> Hutchinson's *Code of Mississippi* (1848), 62.

<sup>5</sup> Sparks' *Memories of Fifty Years* (1872), 245.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.

from their neighbors on the west. As the anti-divisionists elected the territorial delegate to Congress, the opposing party was forced to resort to other means in order to get its sentiments before Congress. Previous to 1816 several bills for the erection of the Territory into a State were passed by the National House of Representatives, but lost in the Senate. The Senate opposed this procedure because of the size of the State that was to be annexed, it having twice the area of Pennsylvania. The first definite proposition for a line of division is contained in the report of a Senate committee made April 17, 1812. In this it was recommended that the eastern boundary of Mississippi run as follows: "Up the Mobile river to the point nearest its source, which falls on the eleventh degree of west longitude from the city of Washington; thence a course due north until the line intersects the waters of Bear creek; thence down the said creek to its confluence with the Tennessee River; thence down the said river to the northern boundary line of the said Territory."

In 1816 a convention was called to discuss the division of the Territory. This convention assembled at the house of John Ford, on Pearl river, and was called the Pearl River Convention. It was presided over by General Cowles Mead, a former Secretary of the Territory, and was attended by General Sam Dale, who lived at that time on the Tombigbee.<sup>7</sup> The sentiment for a division of the Territory seems to have prevailed at this meeting, since Judge Toulmin, an ardent advocate of this view, was sent to Washington as a special representative of the convention.<sup>8</sup>

In order to understand fully the history of the conflict which was waged over the division of the Territory we must go back several years. As early as November 25, 1803, the settlers on the Tombigbee presented a petition to Congress to divide the Territory. On June 12, 1809, the inhabitants of the district east of Pearl river, again petitioned for a separation from their neighbors on the Mississippi. Upon the motion of Mr. Poin-

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<sup>7</sup> Claiborne's *Life and Times of Sam Dale*, 167. The house in which this convention was held is at present the property of Mr. S. E. Rankin, of Spring Cottage.

<sup>8</sup> Darby's *Emigrants' Guide* (1818), 100.



**FORMER HOME OF JOHN FORD.**  
(The house in which the Pearl River Convention was held.)



dexter, who was at that time territorial delegate from Mississippi, the petition was tabled.<sup>9</sup> January 31, 1811, a Congressional committee, of which Mr. Poindexter was chairman, reported favorably a bill which the House passed for the admission of the Territory of Mississippi into the Union as a State.<sup>10</sup> Congress adjourned before the bill was acted upon by the Senate. Early in the next session of Congress a memorial of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of the Mississippi Territory, and a petition of sundry citizens thereof, praying for the admission of the Territory as a State, were referred to a committee of which Mr. Poindexter was chairman. A large number of the inhabitants of the Territory presented at this time a counter-petition, praying "that all proceedings in Congress on the subject might be postponed."<sup>11</sup> This opposition was attributed by a Congressional committee to an "unwillingness to incur additional expense in supporting a State government whilst under a peculiar pressure from the war [with England]; but chiefly an apprehension that a State government with a Federal district court would be immediately followed by a great number of expensive and dangerous, if not ruinous, lawsuits for lands, which would grow out of (what are called), the Yazoo and British claims."<sup>12</sup> On December 17, 1811, this committee recommended the creation of a State, with limits that would embrace the Territory of Mississippi, together with West Florida. This would have given the State, as an eastern limit, the Chattahoochee river from 32° 30' to the 31st degree and the Perdido river from the 31st degree to the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>13</sup> On the 12th of March following, Mr. Poindexter offered an amendment to the pending bill which proposed that the eastern boundary of Mississippi be the State of Georgia from parallels 35° to 31° and the Perdido river from parallel 31° to the Gulf of Mexico. This amendment passed the House.

April 17, 1812, a committee of the Senate recommended that the consideration of a bill "to enable the people of Mississippi

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<sup>9</sup> Benton's *Abridgments of the Debates of Congress*, IV, 141, 142.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 132; *Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous*, Vol. II, 129-130.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, 276.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>13</sup> *Abridgments of the Debates of Congress*, IV, 466.

Territory to form a constitution and State government" be postponed to the first Monday in the following December. The report of the committee is as follows:

"That ..... they could not avoid being struck with the size of the Territory proposed to be erected into a State, a size disproportionate to the size of any of the largest States which now compose our confederation.

"It embraces, in its present form, and without any extension, to the Gulf of Mexico, ..... an area of twice the surface of the State of Pennsylvania.

"Your committee are strongly impressed with the propriety and expediency of dividing the said Territory, so as to form of the same two States, whenever the population, within the limits of each section, shall render it just and proper; and they respectfully submit to the Senate the following divisional line, between the western and eastern sections of the said Territory, viz: Up to the Mobile river to the point nearest its source which falls on the eleventh degree of west latitude from the city of Washington; thence a course due north until the line intersects the waters of Bear creek; thence down the said creek to the confluence with the Tennessee river; thence down the said river to the northern boundary line of the said Territory.....

"By the 5th section of the 1st article of the treaty of cession from the State of Georgia, the United States are bound to erect the said Territory into one State. It has, however, been suggested that the State of Georgia would not, upon a proper representation, withhold her consent to the proposed division.

"To the end, therefore, that an opportunity may be afforded to the State of Georgia to express this consent, by a legislative act of the said State, as they shall think proper, your committee recommend that the said bill be postponed to the first Monday in December next."<sup>14</sup>

The consent of Georgia to a division of the Territory was asked and obtained<sup>15</sup>, but it seems that the War of 1812 caused the subject to be overlooked entirely for the next three years. In the meantime the Territory grew in extent by the addition

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<sup>14</sup> *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, IV., 411; *Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous*, II., 182.

<sup>15</sup> *Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous*, II., 276.

of that part of West Florida between the Pearl and Perdido rivers, which was joined to Mississippi, May 14, 1812. When the subject was brought up again, the Honorable William Lattimore was territorial delegate in Congress from Mississippi.

He was instructed by the territorial legislature to lay before Congress a memorial praying for the admission of Mississippi into the Union as a State, with its entire limits. This he did towards the close of the session of 1814-'15, but the bill was not acted upon for the want of time. In the following session he introduced a similar bill, which through his influence passed the House. This bill was blocked, however, by the Senate as similar bills had been done before. "The extraordinary size of the Territory was assigned" as a reason for the postponement of action by the Senate, and Mr. Lattimer was convinced "that the Senate would never agree to admit the Territory without dividing it." Knowing that the expressed will of his constituency on this subject was in direct conflict with the determination of the Senate, he decided that when the matter was again taken up by a select committee of the House<sup>16</sup> he would abstain from remarks until the committee had expressed its opinion. "This opinion," says Mr. Lattimore, "was unanimously and decidedly in favor of a division."

The question which next arose was, "by what line shall the Territory be divided?" In discussing this question, a member of the committee drew his finger "along the map west of the Tombigbee, from the Tennessee line to the Gulf of Mexico," and it was "at once determined that the jurisdiction of that river should belong exclusively to the eastern section of the Territory." Mr. Lattimore objected to this on the ground that "such a division would give more than an equal portion of the Territory to the eastern section." He was told that the western section "would even then contain a much greater quantity of good land" than the eastern. In reply to his further objection that the Indian claims covered almost all of the western, while they had been extinguished to three-fourths of the eastern part, he was told that the extinguishment of all the Indian titles was in contemplation and that "Congress should not make perma-

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<sup>16</sup> See Report of this committee in *Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous*, II., 407-8.



ment provisions in reference to the present circumstances of the country, but to an ulterior state of things. That the line which the committee seemed disposed to adopt was contemplated with reference to the geographical situation of the Territory, and not at all to the settlements already formed."

As this line would have divided the settlements on the Pascagoula river, Mr. Lattimore proposed that the line should be run "from the Gulf of Mexico to the northwest corner of Washington county, in such a way as to throw the whole of those counties into the proposed western State; and from the point last mentioned along the Choctaw boundary to the Tombigbee River; thence up the same to Cotton Gin Pt., thence due north to Bear creek." He advocated this line before two meetings of the committee, and but for the opposition of Judge Toulmin, he would probably have succeeded. Judge Toulmin, as the representative of the Pearl River Convention, presented a petition praying that the line might be removed much farther westward, probably as far as the northeast corner of Hancock county. Mr. Lattimore says that "in consequence of this petition, the bill was recommitted, and the whole question put at risk. . . . . The bill was reported again without amendment; but when the Senate acted upon it for the last time, some of the members, influenced by the sentiments of the judge, strenuously insisted on making the Pascagoula river the line. To preserve the bill from the danger of this opposition, and from the objections to the line proposed, the gentlemen on whom the support chiefly depended, moved that the line run due south from the northwest corner of Washington county to the Gulf of Mexico." This motion succeeded and a convention was authorized to assemble for the purpose of forming a constitution and State government for the western part of the Territory.

The convention met in the town of Washington, July 7, 1817. The division of the Territory was still one of the principal issues of the day. Dissatisfaction over the wording of the Enabling Act, which stipulated that a State government should be formed for the western part of the Territory, probably caused Cato West on the second day of the convention to offer a resolution, "That it is not expedient at this time to form a constitution and State government." The Chair ruled this resolu-

tion out of order. Mr. Turner then offered a resolution "That it is expedient at this time to form a constitution and State government." This resolution was considered for three days by the convention in a committee of the whole and was reported without amendment. Mr. Poindexter then moved to postpone further action until March 15th, which motion was lost by a vote of 38 to 14. A resolution was then passed to memorialize Congress to extend the boundaries of the State. Opposition to the formation of a State government increased, however, from day to day, until July 15th, when a motion to reconsider Mr. Turner's resolution was lost by a tie vote of 23 to 23.

One of the gentlemen from Wilkinson objected to the line established by Congress on the ground that it was an artificial one. He proposed a line running due north from the middle of Mobile bay to the State of Tennessee. The principal argument advanced in support of this proposition was that such a line would place Mobile within the limits of the State of Mississippi. It was contended by the opposition that this line was even more artificial than that established by Congress, since it would cross the Tombigbee river twenty or thirty times. The argument advanced to overthrow the proposition to place Mobile within the limits of Mississippi is more novel still, when viewed in the light of later history. It was maintained that for various reasons assigned the town of Blakely on the opposite side of the bay, "would certainly supersede Mobile as a commercial depot," and that "the latter would inevitably fall;" and turning upon his opponent, the orator asked with an air of triumph, "What, then, becomes of the gentleman's great commercial town?" "But," he continued, "if it should be a place of the great importance which the gentleman from Wilkinson supposes, of what advantage would it be to us? Who on the Mississippi, Amite, or Pearl river would carry his cotton to that market, or bring supplies of sugar or coffee thence? As to the State tax on the merchandise of the place, it was not worth naming. Let the town of Mobile be what it may, it could not be an object worthy of our attention. Indeed, it would be a disadvantage to us; for if it should be so rich a place as the gentleman tries to persuade us,

this very circumstance would invite the cupidity of an enemy in time of war."

Mr. Lattimore, who led the discussion in defense of the line established by Congress, made a forcible address<sup>17</sup>, from which the arguments just quoted have been taken. He also said: "The difficulties which now threaten us with a dissolution have not arisen from an indisposition to State government, agreeably to the provisions of the law, but from a supposed conflict of local interests between the eastern and western sections of the proposed State." "Relative to these interests, he said he had knowledge of some facts, which had material bearing on the question, and which, with indulgence, he would lay before the convention. He thought it expedient to establish a State government at that time because of the great local interests to be represented in the next Congress. Here he adverted to the land claims below the 31° of latitude (Hancock and Jackson counties),..... also to the British land claims, which, from certain circumstances stated, might be brought up at the same session; and to the question of extinguishing the Indian title to lands east of the Mississippi, which had been agitated at the last session of Congress, and would be probably renewed. These various subjects taken together, Mr. Lattimore said, constituted an interest of the highest importance to the whole of the proposed State. How necessary, then, he asked, might it be, to have two Senators and one representative in Congress, at their next session, instead of one delegate without a vote? This, he said, was especially manifest, as related to the extinguishment of Indian titles, a subject confined chiefly to the executive branch of the general government, of which the Senate is a constituent part."

In reply to a speech of a delegate from Jefferson county, who had presented the advantages to be derived from admitting the undivided Territory as a State, Mr. Lattimore said that he would undertake to prove the converse of this proposition. As to its giving the State a larger number of representatives, and consequently greater power in Congress, he stated that "he had seen the members from the same State as much divided on many

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<sup>17</sup> Darby's *Emigrants' Guide* (1818), 107-'13.

questions, as members from different States. If the Territory should form two States, their respective representatives would probably agree as well with each other on local questions, as if they were all representatives of but one State with one entire limit."

Mr. Lattimore argued that "in relation to the Senate the advantages of division were very obvious. By having two States instead of one, we should have four Senators instead of two. The proposed western State would then certainly have two Senators to itself, and two electors of President and Vice-President. But without division, the western part of the State would not have even one Senator, nor governor, nor seat of government, nor any general officer, except one representative in Congress, unless bestowed upon us by the liberality of the eastern part of the State, which having a decided preponderance in population and representation, would control us at will. Such a control would doubtless be exercised over us for many years. The western part of the State might, in its turn, have the same control over the eastern part, whenever the entire extinguishment of Indian titles should take place. But such changes of power and preponderance were not at all desirable in a State, and he was in favor of division to prevent local jarrings and strife."

In accordance with the resolution of the constitutional convention a memorial praying for an extension of the limits of the new State so as to include at least all of the settlements on the western side of the Mobile and Tombigbee rivers was duly presented to Congress and referred to a select committee. A counter-petition from the citizens of Clarke, Monroe, Washington, Mobile and Baldwin counties in the Alabama Territory was also presented by Judge Toulmin and referred to the same committee. The latter party now had greatly the advantage of its opponents, as will be granted by anyone who reads the following statements made by Judge Toulmin in his letter of transmittal accompanying its petition: "I cannot help believing that the question that a portion of the American people can without their own consent be added to one of the States and made subject to a form of government which they had no agency in establishing, is one of primary and radical importance....."

"The people of the Alabama Territory *do not consent*. They revolt at the idea of being united to the Mississippi State, unless *the whole* Alabama Territory could be united to it; and even then they would like to have something to say about the constitution they are to live under, and something about the men who should administer the constitution."

The petition presented by Judge Toulmin in behalf of his constituents contained the following objections to extending the limits of Mississippi:

1. "It will retard the admission of the Alabama Territory into the Union, . . . . . and will considerably augment the burdens of the government when it is admitted."

2. "Considering the actual situation of the country and the State of its population, the dividing line proposed to be established between the State of Mississippi and the Alabama Territory, is the most unnatural one that could possibly be devised."

3. "If we are accurately informed, one of the most impressive causes which induced the late Congress to divide the Mississippi Territory was the danger of a collision of interests between two great communities living adjacent to the Mississippi and to the waters of the Mobile.

"A future want of harmony in the counsels of the new government and perpetual feuds among the people were anticipated as the natural results of such collision. But the proposed alteration in the boundary line will renew and augment those very dangers which the division was meant to guard against.

"The only difference to be perceived is that with the limits now contemplated by the Mississippi people, the result of every struggle between the two communities will be, that the people of the Mobile will be made to pass under the yoke."

4. "The rivers Tombigbee and Mobile are formed by nature to be the great channel of intercourse between the Western States and the Gulf of Mexico. This channel ought to be subject to the regulation of a single sovereignty.

"It should be under the superintendence of a legislature which will not only be sensible of its importance, but feel an interest in promoting its utility. . . . .

"But will such an interest be felt by a legislature of which

a majority of members will be elected by the inhabitants of a country adjacent to a rival channel of commercial intercourse. It cannot be expected. The Alabama Territory, as it now stands, possesses an identity of interest as complete as any State of equal extent in the American Confederation. Whether the people are stationed on the Tombigbee or the Alabama, on the Mobile or the Tennessee, they are all deeply interested in bringing to perfection the same channel of trade and commerce."

These arguments seem to have been effective, since the line for the division of the Territory as designated in the Enabling Act was allowed to remain and passed into the first constitution of Mississippi as the eastern boundary line of the State. This boundary was described as a direct line from the mouth of Bear creek to the northwest corner of the county of Washington, in Alabama, and thence due south to the Gulf of Mexico. By consulting a map of Mississippi, one will discover, however, that the line between the northwest corner of Washington county and the Gulf of Mexico does not run "due south," but southeast. This fact "finds explanation in the discretionary power given the surveyors in the 3rd Section of the Act, which provides that the line can be run southeast if it 'will encroach on the counties of Wayne,' etc., in Mississippi."<sup>18</sup>

### III. THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN BOUNDARIES.

"The Carolina charter of 1663 gave to the lords proprietors a territory that extended "southerly as far as the river St. Matthias, which bordered upon the coast of Florida, and within one and thirty degrees northern latitude."<sup>19</sup> This is the first mention of the thirty-first parallel that is made in American history. From this time England regarded the line as the proper southern limit of her possessions in America.<sup>20</sup> But this boundary was not recognized by Spain until after England had relinquished her claims in the Mississippi valley to the United States. Finally, by the treaty of San Lorenzo, in 1795, Spain recognized latitude 31° as the southern boundary of the United States.

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<sup>18</sup> *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, II., 91.

<sup>19</sup> Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, I., 1382.

<sup>20</sup> Hinsdale's *Establishment of the First Southern Boundary of the United States in Report of the American Historical Association for 1893*, p. 331.

In 1798-'9, Sir William Dunbar and Captain Stephen Minor, on the part of Spain, and Andrew Ellicott and David Gillespie, on the part of the United States, surveyed this line<sup>21</sup>, which was, for several years, the southern boundary of the Territory of Mississippi. All the territory lying south of 31° and bounded by Lake Pontchartrain and the Mississippi and Perdido rivers, was embraced in what was known as West Florida. This section passed into the possession of the United States by virtue of a Presidential proclamation, bearing the date of October 27, 1810. For several years it had been claimed by the United States as part of the Louisiana purchase. This claim was denied by the Spanish authorities, who held the country until the American settlers within its borders revolted and established their independence. In obedience to an order from President Madison, Governor Claiborne, of the Louisiana Territory, then incorporated this country in his government.

In 1811, George Patterson and four hundred and ten other inhabitants of West Florida petitioned Congress for permission to join the Territory of Mississippi. In this petition they gave the following reason for making such a request:

"The climate, the soil, the people, the manners and the politics of both countries are the same, being only divided by an ideal boundary. We are all Americans by birth, and in principle; and if we are united with the Territory of Orleans, we will be subjected to all the conveniences and miseries resulting from a difference of people, language, manners, customs and politics.....If West Florida and the Territory of Orleans differ in every material respect (of which there can be no doubt), it follows that a coalition of the two countries would be productive of discord.....

"Your petitioners are aware of the policy suggested by *some* of adding *us*, who are all Americans, to the people of the Territory of Orleans, who are chiefly French, in order to counteract the French influence. This may be sound policy, but.....it would be destructive to our individual happiness; a sacrifice too

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<sup>21</sup> A full account of this survey will be found in Ellicott's *Journal*. See also Riley's *Sir William Dunbar—The Pioneer Scientist of Mississippi*, in the *Publications of the Miss. Historical Society*, Vol. II., 91-'4; also Hamilton's *Running Mississippi's South Line*, in *Ibid.*, 157-168.

great, we trust, to be required of us to make by a government, wise in its administration."<sup>22</sup>

This petition was referred to a committee of which Mr. Poindexter was chairman and reported upon as follows:

"Your committee....conceive that, insomuch as the entire tract of country formerly possessed by Great Britain, under the name of West Florida, and subsequently transferred to Spain, .....has fallen under the dominion of the United States, it ought, in strict propriety, to be restored to its ancient limits, as the measure corresponds with the wishes, and is calculated to promote the permanent welfare of the people whose interests are immediately concerned.....It must be obvious, that to confer on the State to be formed of the Territory of Orleans, the whole extent of seaboard from the river Perdido to the Sabine bay, would give to it an influence over the commerce of the Western country which might be productive of the most mischievous consequences; for.....there are many important regulations which would materially affect the navigation of the numerous rivers flowing through this country into the Gulf of Mexico, falling within the legitimate range of State powers..... Thus, by affording every facility to the trade passing down the river Mississippi to New Orleans, and by interposing vexatious obstructions to the commerce of those rivers emptying into the Bay of Mobile and the lakes, that city will become the emporium of all the bulky articles of agriculture, which constitute in time of peace the great export trade of the Western States and Territories." The committee then recommended that all of West Florida be added to that part of the Mississippi Territory south of a line drawn from the mouth of the Yazoo river, and that the same be admitted into the Union as a State.<sup>23</sup>

A detailed discussion of this subject will be found in the *Abridgments of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. IV., 320-325, 519-524. Governor Claiborne, of the Territory of Louisiana, opposed the passing of this bill and wrote Mr. Poindexter the following letter:

"Success attend your efforts to bring in Mississippi, but I cannot approve your wish to attach the whole of West Florida.

<sup>22</sup> *Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous*, II., 155.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 163-4.



Had you proposed that Orleans Territory should extend eastward to Pearl river and up to the 31st degree; and the district from Pearl River to the Perdido, be attached to Mississippi Territory, I should have made no opposition. But your demand for the whole is rather extravagant, and would be greatly injurious to the interests of Louisiana. I myself would prefer the Perdido for *our* eastern boundary, and there are strong equities in the claim. But we will compromise and take as far as Pearl river, and leave to you the country on the Pascagoula and Tombigbee, and the custody of one of the great avenues of western commerce, the Mobile river."

Three months later, when the bill reported by the committee was called up, Mr. Poindexter offered an amendment which changed the proposed southern boundary by adding to the Mississippi Territory only that part of West Florida lying between the Pearl and Perdido Rivers.<sup>24</sup> In this way the Mississippi Territory was extended to the Gulf of Mexico, but failed to get all of West Florida. This amendment was heartily approved by Mr. Clay, who was then Speaker of the House, and the bill as amended became a law.

Previous to the passage of this last act, the Mississippi river was the only boundary of the Territory on the west. The Pearl river, south of the thirty-first degree, then became the western boundary of Mississippi.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Abridgments of the Debates of Congress*, IV., 520.

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps one of the most novel propositions for State-making in the Southwest was one advanced by Brackenridge in his *Views of Louisiana*, a book which was copyrighted in 1813. He says: "Were the northern boundary line of Louisiana on the East side of the Mississippi River to begin at the 33d [degree of latitude], so as to correspond with the line on the western side, the State would be left in a more compact and definite shape. Something has been said of carrying this into effect, if it should not meet the opposition of the people of the Mississippi Territory. Much might be said in favour of it; it would tend to lessen the expense of State government to both and give the right [of becoming a State] to the Mississippi Territory sooner than could be well expected without. But the great objections, and indeed they seem almost unsurmountable, arise from the difficulty of subjecting that territory to the civil law, after having been so long accustomed to a different; and to introduce the law into this State, at once, would be highly impolitic, if practicable" (page 282).

REPORT OF SIR WILLIAM DUNBAR TO THE  
SPANISH GOVERNMENT AT THE CONCLUSION  
OF HIS SERVICES IN LOCATING AND SUR-  
VEYING THE THIRTY-FIRST DEGREE  
OF LATITUDE.

The Spanish Government having consented that the American Commissioner should remove himself from Natchez with his company, baggage, &c., to a position near which it was expected the line would pass, while in the meantime the Spanish Commission with their baggage, instruments, &c., were moving from New Orleans, the capital of the Province of Louisiana, up the Mississippi in order to gain the same situation. Andrew Ellicott, Esquire, the American Commissioner, did accordingly encamp his company and erect an Observatory.....

On the 26th May, 1798, I arrived at the encampment of the American Commissioner with the necessary instruments, consisting principally of the Astronomical Circle improved on the principles of the eminent Mr. Ramsden, of London, and graduated to five Seconds, and an excellent brass Sextant on the construction of Hadley, fitted to a pedestal commanding an Arch of 140 degrees and graduated to 10 seconds.

The American Commissioner having finished his series of observations.....for the determination of the Latitude of the Observatory, I proceeded to erect the Astronomical Circle in a position precisely 15 French feet to the north of the place of the Instrument used by the American Commissioner, and being prepared I commenced my series of Observations on the 31st day of

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<sup>1</sup>This contribution embraces the greater part of the report made to the Spanish Government by Sir Wm. Dunbar at the conclusion of his services as a representative of that power in surveying the boundary between the United States and Spanish West Florida. The Spanish copy of this report is in the archives at Madrid. The copy here given was kindly presented to the editor by Maj. Wm. Dunbar Jenkins. Only those parts of the original report have been omitted which treat of the details of the mathematical calculations made by the author while engaged upon his important work.

For a sketch of Sir William Dunbar's life see Riley's "Sir William Dunbar—The Pioneer Scientist of Mississippi," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. II., pp. 85-111.—EDITOR.

May, and continued them until the Seventh day of June, when the series was completed.....From the result of my observations it appears that the Latitude of the Observatory is  $30^{\circ} 59' 44''$  .02 different from that deducted from Mr. Ellicott's observations in the quantity of  $0''$  .22; but the position of my instrument being 15 French feet more northerly than that of the American Commissioner, makes the actual difference of Latitude resulting from the two Setts of Observations amount to  $0''$  .063 equal nearly to 6 French feet; hence it appears, that the position of the Observatory of the American Commissioner by his own Observations was distant from the most northerly part of the 31st degree of North Latitude, by the quantity of 16.2 Second of a degree or 256 toises, 3 feet and 7 inches French measure, and by my observations  $31^{\circ}$  would pass more southerly by the small difference of 6 French feet.

In consequence of the consent given by the Spanish Government that Commissioner Ellicott might commence his preliminary observations before the arrival of the Spanish Commission, he had caused this quantity of 256 Toises, 3 feet & 7 inches to be carefully measured Off on the Meridian north from the center of his Observatory, in order to arrive at the northermost part of the 31st degree, which operation being examined and found correct, was approved of by me as Astronomer of his Catholic Majesty, and accordingly this point was established as a point in the Lat. of  $31^{\circ}$  disregarding the small difference of 6 feet which Had a tendency to remove the line a little farther South.. Previous to the Arrival of the Spanish Commission, Commissioner Ellicott had also established a due East and West line in the parallel of  $31^{\circ}$ .....by taking double Altitudes of the Star Arcturus on the prime Vertical: Entertaining the highest confidence in the scientific knowledge as well as veracity of the American Commissioner, I adopted this line, in order to save time, proposing to verify the same.....

From the point where the east and west line was established, a line was carried due west, by cutting a trace Sixty feet wide, which was consequently a tangent to the parallel of latitude, and was pushed on to.....the termination of the high grounds; it being impossible at that time to proceed nearer to the bank of the Mississippi, on account of the annual inunda-

tion, which at that time overspread the low grounds from 4 to 10 feet in depth.....

Intelligence being received that the waters of the inundation had retired within the margin of the River, it was determined that our Company should divide, in order that the portion of the line extending from the high lands to the Mississippi might be completed, while at the same time the line might proceed to the East by the main body of both Commissions. The moist and Swampy Soil in the vicinity of the Mississippi being considered as hazardous to the health of our Northern friends, I proposed that the American Commissioner should continue his progress eastward, with the White laborers, 50 in number, reserving for myself the task of pushing the line through the low grounds to the Margin of the Mississippi with the assistance of 2 Surveyors, 22 black laborers and a White Overseer. Accordingly on the 28th of July my Company removed themselves and encamped.....on a beautiful bluff commanding a fine prospect over the great Valley of the Mississippi.

Wednesday, 1st August. Employed the two last days in preparing an encampment and getting the Stores, &c., up the hill, and this morning commenced cutting the line Westward across the low grounds towards the bank of the Mississippi.....

The line being extended to the river bank on the 17th July, the distance was found to be.....two miles and 180 perches English measure, or 2111.42 French toises. At the distance of one and two miles.....were erected square posts, surrounded by mounds.....and at the distance of 88 French feet in the direction of the parallel of Latitude from the river bank, was erected a squared post of magnitude 10 feet high, surrounded by a mound of earth 8 feet in height. On this point is inscribed on the South Side a crown with the letter R underneath; on the North U. S., and on the West side fronting the River Agosto 18th, 1798, 31° Lat. N.

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Observing the trees on the hither bank of the river to be of a considerable height, I observed the following angles, Viz: The Summit of the trees beyond the river Altitude 9' 15". The bank on which those trees stand, depression 23' 30", from

whence it results (the distance of the trees being 3 miles from the Observatory) that the height of the highest trees is 150 feet, 10.8 inches.

On Monday, 20th August, 1798, I returned to the Camp at Bayu Sara, and found that during my absence the line having been carried to the point N° 10, the American Commissioner had made the necessary observations by taking equal altitudes of the Star Delphini.....

August 28th. The line having been now carried beyond the point N° 15 that is to the distance of about eighteen miles from the River Mississippi, including the whole of the cultivated lands, I signified to the Spanish Government my intention of retiring from the Line agreeably to the Stipulation which was made at the commencement of this operation, and accordingly I set out on the 31st day of August, bidding a final adieu to the Gentlemen of both Commissions, with whom I had spent three months in a manner highly agreeable to my own taste, and with uninterrupted harmony on my part with every gentleman of both parties, and had it not been, that my family and other interests demanded my protection and superintendence, I should have with pleasure pursued this employment to its conclusion. And here let me not omit to mention with honor, the transcendent scientific talents of my very particular friend, Andrew Ellicott, Esq., the American Commissioner, to whose condescending and communicative disposition, I am indebted for much pleasure, information and instruction.

\* \* \* \* \*

August, 1798. Notes at my Encampment on the Bluff. Lat. 31° North.

In this situation we were infested with innumerable swarms of Gnats, and a variety of other Stinging and biting insects; which circumstance brought to my recollection the relation given by Maupertuis of the sufferings of himself and his companions, when measuring an arc of the Meridian under the polar circle. Our Situation, was infinitely more favorable for the Generation of Insects and noxious vermin than that of the French Geometricians; Situated as we were on the margin of a marshy Valley 30 miles in breadth, from which the Mississippi had recently retreated, leaving innumerable lakes, ponds and

pools of stagnant water, removed only a few degrees to the north of the tropic of Cancer, and in the hottest month of the Year, the surface of the earth teemed with life; objects presented themselves at every step in this animated hot bed, not of those kinds which invite and delight the view of the inquisitive naturalist; but of the most disgusting forms and noxious kinds, a few of those were the Serpents of the waters frequently entwined in clusters to the number of several hundreds, a vast variety of toads, frogs, including the bull-frog, and the thundering Crocodile, all of hideous forms, with a multitude of others too tedious to mention. The inconvenience arising from the Winged insects was easily removed by the smoke of a few fires placed around the encampment and a curtain of gauze secured us after the labors of the day from the attack of these minute though troublesome enemies during sleep; they kept up a continual buzzing during the night. The forests which are said to have been cleared away by the party of Maupertuis by the aid of fire, did not I am persuaded present so tremendous a spectacle as the conflagration excited by our party; the face of the high country was covered with cane of the same species with the Bamboo of the East, and those growing so thick and strong, that it was impossible to penetrate through them but by the aid of edge tools. Several miles of those canes having been cut down 60 feet in width, forming a combustible bed from 3 to 4 feet in thickness, and being set on fire when sufficiently dry presented to the eye of the beholder a most astonishing line of fire, the flames ascending to the tops of the highest trees and spreading for miles on each side of the line, carried devastation wherever it went; the continual explosions of rarified air from the hollow cane resembled the re-echoed discharges of innumerable platoons of musketry and mocked every idea that could be formed of the effect produced by the conflict of the most formidable armies. The scene was truly grand, awful and majestic, and must have been seen to be able to form any just idea of its terrible Sublimity. As soon as the face of the earth was cooled, we were enabled to traverse large tracts free of every incumbrance except the standing trunks of trees, which could not have been cleared to the same extent by the united labors of several thousands of men for several months together. We remarked

that the progress of the fire was promoted by thick bodies of cane, a proportion of which having decayed and withered to make room for the living reeds, served as a train to communicate the destroying element and reduce the whole to ashes. On the other hand, the Cane in certain diversities of soil arriving to a less degree of Perfection, more dispersed and without any portion of dry or withered Canes, impede and at length finally put a stop to the ravages of the conflagration. Hence we might say with Maupertuis that in the advancement of our labors we had cleared extensive forests; whereas our sole merit consisted in having dropt a spark upon an immense collection of combustible matter, which immediately catching fire, spread with irresistible fury, while any Pañulum remained to nourish its flame. I respect too highly the memory of Maupertuis and his justly celebrated companions of his voyage to suppose that they would seek to derive fame from pretended merit, but the recital of the above circumstances gives rise to the following reflection, That many of our modern Adventurers have established a very considerable reputation upon human credulity, by the display of imaginary sufferings, and the pretended achievement of arduous exploits, which in the country from whence I write, are submitted to and performed as the ordinary occurrence of every day. It may be admitted that the company of Maupertuis must have sustained some actual hardships from the excess of cold to which they were exposed; but I presume that our party suffered no less from the opposite extreme of heat. The great luminary in his meridian splendor at this season, has the appearance and effect of a Vertical Sun, the thickets on either side the avenue which the laborers were employed in opening were often impenetrable to the stoutest breeze, the ardent beams of the sun, striking directly into this narrow passage, frequently aided by the reflection of the sideling hills, excited a degree of heat which might be literally said to scorch, the Thermometer has here risen to 120° of Farenheit, or 35 of Roemun, even this degree of heat might still be tolerated by the human body had there been any circulation of the air; but the Atmosphere was often stagnated, and at such times, the toiling laborer was under the necessity of seeking prompt relief by precipitating himself under the shade of the nearest friendly thicket, or what was more

eligible when exhausted strength did not oppose, ascending the first eminence, there to inhale greedily the salubrious vapours of the reviving gale. The want of water in many situations, joined to the difficulty of transporting it through the thickets was also frequently a source of inconvenience.

Although our regular labors did not admit of time to be employed in botanizing, yet in passing through the portion of low grounds lying between the hills and the River bank I observed the following to be the most conspicuous productions of the Vegetable kingdom, Viz: The Cypress (*Cupressus*), both red and white, of which the former is the more valuable for strength and durability, its wood being impregnated with a considerable portion of Resin, which is not very perceptible in the white—the heart of the red wood when planted as a post or stake in the ground immediately after being cut down, is said to endure for three score years before it is impaired by putrefaction. This tree delights to grow in low grounds frequently overflowed, but does not prosper in situations always under water, it being observable that those found in lakes which are never dry, have a prodigious large trunk of an irregular conical form, from 10 to 12 feet in diameter at the base and shooting out at the height of 20 feet into a dozen or more dwarfish stems, which seldom exceed 20 feet more; whereas the finest trees often ascend to the elevation of 130 or 140 feet: Such are found in situations exposed only to be watered from 2 to 6 feet by the annual inundation. This tree produces from its wandering roots a number of excrescences which rise perpendicularly out of the Earth to the height which is always limited by the greatest rise of the water of the Inundation. Dupratz has said that the tree reproduces itself by means of those extensions of the root, which, is without foundation; for this tree does never even send forth a cyon, but is invariably propagated from the seed, which is about the size of a Spanish Walnut. When opened it is found to consist of a number of cells regularly disposed, about one-half of which contains the purest and most limpid gold color turpentine; the other half contains the germs of the future trees, which are numerous. I have often observed a half dozen or more young plants produced from one apple, which often coalesce into one, and sometimes the greater part perish to make



room for their more fortunate brethren; but I have often noticed 3, or 4 of great size which seemed to proceed from a Common Stock or Root.

The Cypress timber is the most useful of any to the Inhabitants of this Country, being preferred before all others for house building, furnishing beams, scantling, planks and shingles of the best kind and rives advantageously into clap-boards, for the purpose of making handsome post and rail fencing, and inferior houses; the use, however, of this valuable timber is restricted to those who live within a moderate distance of the river swamps, being never found growing upon uplands. It is remarkable, that it is extremely difficult to rive this timber across the heart, but lifts into concentric boards with great facility.

A species of the White oak is found growing on ridges lying between lakes and ponds bordered by Cyprus; the quality of this Oak is scarcely inferior to live Oak, its wood being of a very compact, solid grain, and extremely ponderous, it extends its boughs to a great distance on all sides and might furnish an inexhaustible store of curves or knees for ship-building. It produces a more abundant crop of acorns than any other known oak, insomuch that the ground is often covered by them to the depth of some inches; it has, however, been remarked that in those years when the inundation fails, this tree produces a very scanty crop, nay sometimes not a single acorn: this species of Oak I have never found growing on high lands, and nature has so ordained that the husk embraces the acorn so firmly that they are not separated by their fall from the tree, by which means this case by its comparatively small specific gravity buoys up the acorn, and being carried along by the various currents of the inundation, serves to plant distant colonies of this species.

I have never observed that the fruit of other oaks is thus formed; from the present as well as millions of other examples it is to be seen, with what consummate wisdom all things are framed by nature, in the most perfect manner for their peculiar state of existence.

A species of the red oak, or rather black oak, growing on lands more elevated than the last has nothing remarkable in it, being found indifferently on high or low lands.

The Liarre, cotton tree or Water Poplar, appears to be the same with the Lombardy Poplar, or if not precisely the same, partakes eminently of its peculiar properties; the astonishing rapidity of its vegetation would I presume rival, nay probably exceed that of the Lombardy Poplar in its native clime. It is to be found chiefly along the banks of the Mississippi, and often where the depth of the inundation is very considerable, but here again Nature has wisely ordered that the growth of this tree from the seed is so extremely quick that from the end of one Inundation to the commencement of the next the young tree always surmounts the succeeding high water, and is the chief means used by nature to secure annually many thousands of acres of new formed lands of our American Nile, which otherwise might be washed away by succeeding floods. One of these trees growing single in the most favorable situation, has been known to arrive in the course of one season to the almost incredible height of 30 feet:

In other particulars this wood is of small value to our country, being soft and not durable, but very white, and grows to so enormous a size that hunters, who fetch down wild-beef, &c., to the market of New Orleans, form rough boats of a single piece, which are sometimes 6 or 7 feet wide, but commonly from 4 to 5, joining 2 or 3 together, defending the whole by a common Covering. This tree might be valuable in many parts of Europe in order to create suddenly ornamental forests around the seats of the Nobility and Gentry, for which it is eminently qualified, both on account of the great rapidity of its vegetation and its handsome shade. Trancheons of almost any size take root, and it is indifferent which end is thrust into the Earth.

The bamboo Cane is found growing in all situations where the general rise of the inundation does not exceed 2 feet, if much beyond this depth no canes are produced, probably because the young canes cannot arrive to the height of 2 feet in the same season, in fact it does not grow to half that height, but it has sometimes happened that two or three years have passed without the water swelling much over the bank of the River, in that case the young cane may arrive to the height of 2 feet, before the waters come to disturb the seedling plant; those

young canes which proceed from the Old Roots grow on the contrary in a manner surprisingly rapid, insomuch that in one month in an open new cleared field, they will reach the size and height of the old canes, which is from 15 to 35 feet according to the quality of the soil. The natural history of this reed, we are yet ignorant of. It has been observed and classed by Botanists, being according to the Linnean System of the 3rd Class Triandria, the 2nd Order Digynia, and the genus *Arundo*; no doubt there are several species, as that which grows in this country rarely exceeds one inch and a quarter in diameter, whereas in various parts of the East it is the size of a man's leg or more. It produces a very abundant crop of Grain, and that only once, for it immediately after perishes root and branch, it is not known how many years the reed requires to arrive at this state of maturity; if we were to suppose, that 25 years were its limit, it must happen that a person who has resided during that length of time in this country and who has visited many parts of it must have seen all the cane that came under his inspection once in grain, and upon the average one twenty-fifth part of all the cane in a large tract of country ought annually to yield a crop, but this is by no means the case, for I who have lived during that length of time in this country and have frequently traversed many extensive tracts of it, have never in any one year seen 1/500 part of the canes in seed of those parts that I have intimately known. We must then suppose that this wonderful reed requires at least 500 years to arrive at a State of Maturity to enable it to bear a crop of seed, after which it immediately dies, both plant and root, for no Cyon or Sucker ever pushes from the root after bearing seed. It is probable that if this has happened in Europe to a plant derived from an imported root, the death of the Cane may have been considered as the consequence of disease, although it has been no more than the regular progress of nature.

The Sycamore is also an inhabitant of this prolific vale, with a thousand lesser productions which we had not time to examine.

The Willow hangs over the banks of the River and is eminently qualified to retain and secure the soil by its innumerable fibrous roots, which strike out from every trunk and branch under

water ; when the inundation goes down, the roots are generally found matted with the soil which they have intercepted ; those in a higher situation become dry and burn like tinder, but upon the return of Waters recover their vegetative vigor, the waters which are left in the form of Lakes & ponds seem animated with life in a million of forms, besides the noxious animals above mentioned, they contain every species of fish which this immense river furnishes, of which many kinds are very seldom caught in the river itself and are only to be found in those lesser collections of waters generally fed by springs among many others are the Barbut (commonly called the Catfish from an appearance of whiskers about the mouth), the Sheep's head, Black trout, Bar or Rock, Bass, Perch, Sun-fish and a great variety of smaller fishes.

The Microscope discovers those waters to contain the same varieties of animalcules which I have often examined in Europe, and many new ones, which I do not remember to have seen described by any writer, and which I hope at some future day to find leisure to describe.

On the 12th August I had the happiness of viewing a most beautiful phenomenon, which if evidence had been necessary would have decided the question between the ingenious Bernardin de St. Pierre and the System of Sir Isaac Newton, respecting the nature of the Rain-bow, it is well known that according to the demonstration of the latter the colors of the bow are caused by the Sun's rays refracted and reflected by the globules of rain and that consequently every spectator is in the center of his own rainbow, and that no two persons can see the same bow. The Abbe will have it that the Sun's rays are transmitted through an aperture of clouds and by refraction or inflection paint the colored circle on the opposite clouds, and that consequently every spectator views the same rain-bow, as a number of persons may view the same picture suspended on a wall ; that change of place in the spectator does not alter the position of the bow, he asserts that he never once found himself in the center of the bow, and sometimes even very near to one extremity of it. Returning from the low grounds on horseback about midday, I was overtaken by a very heavy shower of Rain, and seeing it in vain to look for any shelter I continued onwards

and having began to mount the hill which was very steep and lay to the north while I was riding North Westerly (the storm by this time considerably abated, and the Sun shone bright from the South, although numerous and large drops of rain continued to fall around me, in this situation, according to Sir Isaac's principles, a rain-bow was to be expected), in effect I was presented with the view of the most beautiful one I ever beheld, the colors were the most vivid imaginable; from the position of the hill it was impossible that the bow should be above 12 feet from my eye, it did not appear so much, and seemed to be about 10 feet in diameter. According to the Abbe's theory I ought in passing on to have left this beautiful object to my right pictured and stationary upon the side of the hill, but on the contrary it attended me surrounding my shadow in a beautiful manner. If my horse ascended, descended or rebounded, these motions were precisely accompanied by the rainbow. I then stopt to contemplate more at my leisure this beautiful phenomenon, and was surprised to find that it consisted of more than a semi-circle, and the vertical point of the bow did not seem more than 8 feet from the eye, although the inferior parts seemed farther removed, which produced an optical deception by giving it the appearance of an ellipsis, the transverse diameter being parallel to the horizon; this perhaps is the first natural rainbow exceeding a Semi-circle which has been seen by a human eye, because to produce such an effect from the general idea formed of this phenomenon, the Sun ought to be in the horizon to cause the appearance of a full Semi-circle exceeded only by the parallax angle of the elevation of the eye above the base of the rainbow, which must generally be insensible; the above effect, however, is easily accounted for on Newton's principles from the peculiar circumstances in which I was placed.

The same morning a large tyger (panther) was seen by the labourers traversing the valley: this animal is of a very ferocious nature, when grown to full size may be about 3 feet in height and measuring from tip of the nose to the extremity of the tail between 7 and 8 feet, of which the tail is less than half, he is deep chested and short legged with a paw equal in breadth to the palm of a man's hand, endowed with astonishing strength

and nervous elasticity, his colour is yellowish, and his monstrous head and fangs are formed like those of a Cat; they are fortunately not very numerous, being great destroyers of Calves, Colts, Sheep, hogs, &c., any of which they carry off with great ease; and in defence of their prey, or of their young or when famished with hunger do not hesitate to attack the human species. The black bear will sometimes do the same, though less bold than the tyger, in general however the divine countenance of the Lord of the Creation puts them all to flight. The Wolf is still more easily alarmed, the fox is extremely timid. So is the short tailed Wild Cat (Mink) about the size of a Stout dog, nevertheless all these as well as some of inferior note, have been here known to give battle to the hunters who have been in pursuit of them.

The Aligator seems to be precisely the same with the Crocodile of the Nile, although they do not arrive to so great a magnitude as they are said to do in Egypt, owing no doubt to the greater general heat of the Climate. Here they rarely exceed 15 feet in length, those generally seen are from 7 to 10 or 12 feet, and the size of the larger are nearly that of a barrel. It has been asserted that their skin (resembling a coat of mail) is impenetrable to a musket ball, but I never found any difficulty in piercing them with a small rifle bullet unless the stroke was made too obliquely. They deposit their eggs in an excavation made in the ground at no great distance from the water's edge, which are said frequently to amount to the number of four score and even more; the nest is carefully covered up, which they are supposed to watch and defend from raccoons, Opossums, &c., which would otherwise devour their eggs during the night. They are also supposed to divide themselves into pairs during the season of love, as they are often seen by two together and also during the time of Incubation Watching their nests. The Young Alligators when hatching may be heard chirping under ground. The parent in due time breaks open the nest and brings forth her progeny to open day. From the multitude of eggs, one might be inclined to suppose that the race of Alligators would become so numerous, that every species of fish would speedily be destroyed, and that this hideous monster must devour his own kind in order to procure subsistence; this

is not observed to be the consequence, for though they often fight, they are never known to feed upon each other, but greedily seize upon all other Animals and fish whose bulk may not deter them. We are told that vast numbers of the Young are devoured by the parents on their way from the nest to the water; it has been said by persons who pretend to have watched their motions, that all the young which do not cling, but fall off from the body of the female parent are liable to be destroyed either by the male or female, so that crocodiles which have departed from the nest with 80 young arrive at the water, as is pretended, with sometimes no more than 5 or 6. They must also be exposed to be swallowed up when young by many kinds of fish, as they are not grosser when hatched than the finger, and about 5 or 6 inches long. I do not vouch for the truth of the above relation, not having myself had an opportunity of proving it by actual observation; it is here generally believed to be true. One thing is certainly true, that nature must employ the above, or some other natural means to diminish their number. Otherwise they must speedily become innumerable and would destroy everything which the waters contain. During the cold of the Winter Season, they often become torpid and may then be cut into pieces with an Axe without their exhibiting any powers of motion. Persons have been known inadvertently to sit down upon them in this state supposing them to be logs of wood. The alligator does not possess the courage which has been ascribed to the Crocodile, as they always fly at the approach of man, and I have not known of any one being attacked in the water, notwithstanding the common practice of bathing in the Mississippi.

There are several species of Turtle which are amphibious as well as the Alligator, and deposit their eggs in the same manner in the earth in order that they may be hatched by the Summer's heat, this takes place in the months of June and July, that is, immediately after the abatement of the Annual Inundation; a number of beaches and Sand bars then uncovered, being very favourable for their purpose. One species of Turtle covered by a comparatively soft shell is often taken by the hook and line, and is thought to be little inferior in Goodness to the Green Turtle of the West Indies. Some other kinds are also eaten,

and others again are rejected perhaps from prejudice on account of their disagreeable aspect; one of them is called the Alligator Turtle on account of his overgrown head and tail being covered with a species of scales resembling those which form the armour of the Crocodile. I have seen of this last some whose shells were 3 feet in length, and I suppose might have weighed a hundred pounds.

Proposing only to take a cursory view of those objects which passed under my notice I do not pretend to give a complete enumeration of the finny inhabitants of the Mississippi: here follows a list of those which are most common, viz:

Cat-fish, Perch, Sturgeon, Eel, Armed Fish or Garre, Sun-fish, black trout, bass, Rock, Choique or mudfish, Spatula fish, a Species of herring, a large fish called red-fish and a great variety of others to which names have not been given. We have also the Cray-fish and Shrimp; the latter in such abundance, that there is no part of either shore, but quantities of them may be immediately caught, by sinking a net, bag or basket, with a little bran or piece of flesh, about a foot or two under water, during ten months of the year, and this as high up as Yazouz River and perhaps higher. At some future day when the banks of this river shall be populated to the same degree as the Rivers and canals of China; the poor of this country will bless the hand of the Almighty and admire his providence in having provided for them an inexhaustible store of food, by the indefinite multiplication of this crustaceous Animal.

At the mouth of the River and in the adjoining Salt lakes are plenty of Oysters, Crabs, Sheep head, Spotted trout, flat fish and many others.

The River and fresh water lakes are covered in the Winter Season with a great variety of Game, such as Geese, Ducks of 8 or 10 different species, teal, brant, Pelican, and in cold Winters the Swan visits us. We have also a variety of the Crane kind. The shores are inhabited by the Wild Turkey, the Wood Cock and Snipe. We have also in our fields the quail called here the partridge, and an infinite store of birds, some remarkable for their song and others for the splendor of their plumage.

I will close these desultory remarks for the present upon the



low lands of the Mississippi with a list of such vegetable productions as do now occur to my memory.

*Vegetable productions of the Swampy Grounds or such as are much exposed to the Annual Inundation.*

Cypress Red & White.	Willow.	A great variety of vines, among which one very long white vine Serves for cables to make fast flat rough boats and rafts of lumber.
Tupulo.	Over cup White Oak.	
3 thorned or honey locust.	Pakawn, Juglans alba, a new species.	Arsmart, polygonum. A long narrow leaved plant, being an agreeable safe cathartic.
Persimmon.	Palmetto.	
Bamboo Cane.	Mistletoe.	
Long Moss.	A great variety of Shrubs growing round the edges of ponds and in Wet Grounds.	
Long Coarse Grass growing in water.		

With an abundance of other plants.

*Vegetable Productions common to the high and low lands.*

Liarre, Cotton Tree	Wild Olive.
Elm, 2 species	Ash, 2 species,
(perhaps) the Lombardy Poplar.	Prickly Ash.
White Oak, 2 species.	White thorn.
Red Oak, 4 do.	Locust.
Live Oak.	3 thorned or honey-locust.
Sweet gum.	Persimmon.
Sycamore.	Mulberry.
Elder.	Passiflora, a vine bearing a kind of Pomegranate.
Bay, 3 species,	Indian Potatoes.
Myrtle wax,	Wild pea.
Pakawn, Juglans alba, a new species.	Many vines, some bearing
Sassafras.	Grapes.
Palma Christi	Long moss called Spanish beard.
Arsmart, Polygonum.	

The productions of the high land are different from those of the valley of the Mississippi, although many are common to both. I shall therefore only mention a few of those which are peculiar to the high grounds and of which we were permitted only to take a rapid view. One of the Grandest and most admirable productions is the Magnolia Major eminently beautiful from the shining deep Green of its leaves on the upper side, and an elegant tender buff colour of the Reverse, exhibiting one of the most glorious flowers of nature of the Tulip kind and when full blown is not less than 8 inches in diameter, shedding a most delicious perfume. It is one of the most perfect of ever greens, retaining the full lustre of its foliage during the

winter, and preserving by succession the splendor of its flowers to the Autumn; it bears a cone filled with beautiful cornelian coloured seeds, covered with a thin pulp, emitting when bruised an Aromatic scent, and pungent to the taste, the bark of the tree resembles the seeds in those two properties, but I do not know that any discovery has been made of its utility in medicine or otherwise. Its wood becomes very hard and solid when worked up and preserved under cover, but little used, on account of the superiority of other timber equally common. It is remarked that this tree diminishes in beauty and vigour when left standing singly in an open field after the other trees are cleared away; for the same reason attempts to transplant this tree from the Forest to the vicinity of buildings, have generally proved fruitless.

The next I shall take notice of is a noble tree called the Yellow Poplar, preserving its size and rotundity to a vast height without branches resembling a majestic pillar. Botanists have placed this tree in the same class and order with the last from the similarity of the parts of fructification, it is the *Liriodendrum* of Linnaeus or Tulip tree; its flower is not without beauty but much inferior to that of the *Magnolia* both in that respect as well as in size, and is not resplendent being of a Yellowish colour; this tree is of two kinds the yellow and the white, the former being the more valuable both on account of its beauty and durability, but it is liable to an imperfection from the changes in the state of the Atmosphere, shrinking and swelling very considerably by the alterations in the degrees of siccidity and moisture in the Atmosphere. Having observed this notable property I essayed to form an hygrometer by using a thin and broad piece of plank cut across the grain, which answered as well perhaps as any other. I improved its sensibility by boiling it when very dry, in a solution of milk alkali or carbonated potash.

The tract along which we pass on the high ground furnishes a good variety of lofty and majestic trees, but I shall confine my remarks to those which are of the most useful or ornamental kinds. The *Bois de fleche*, Dogwood, being the cornus, or cornelian tree of the Botanists, so called probably from the fine cornelian colour of its ripe berry, is one of the most elegant

ornaments of the Early Spring, it consists of two varieties, one furnishes a flower of a Yellowish green inclining to white, but the flower of the other is of the most resplendent white, and the tree seldom exceeding 50 feet in height, spreads wide its low branches entirely covered with dazzling blossoms displaying the full Blaze of its beauties about the commencement of March; while the generality of Forest trees are as yet clad in their winter attire, it affords a highly finished contrast to the eye of the admirer of Nature, long sickened by the unchanging scenes of still life presented by the preceding season.

The Red bud being the cercis or Judas tree of the botanists is remarkable for its elegant display of pale crimson blossoms, which seem to cover its branches in all its parts, appearing soon after those of the Cornus, and affording relief to the eye after beholding the splendid display of the Cornus, which cannot be contemplated by a true admirer, but with a species of enthusiasm enfeebling the delicate organ of sight, and which by the soft tender and gentle mildness of the Cercis is restored to its original powers.

The Acacia or Locust, the black Mulberry, Wild Cherry, the Black Walnut, the Sassafras are produced abundantly and are extremely serviceable to the Inhabitants for the value and durability of their Timber. The Wild Cherry when large enough to yield plank fit for furniture, rivals the mahogany in the diversity of its beautiful veins and the elegance of its polish. When this country shall become populous and labour reduced in prices, the industry of the silk worm will add a new staple to the Commerce of the Mississippi, the black mulberry being indigenous to the soil, and without doubt the White species, the favorite food of that valuable insect might prosper equally well. The Chinquapin is a species of the Chestnut, producing fruit of the size of a hazle nut, its appearance and taste approximating to that of the Chestnut, but the tree grows only to a size far inferior to that of the Chestnut, which is a rare tree in our climes, growing more abundantly a few degrees farther North.

A species of the *Æsculus* or horse chestnut is found here, it scarcely exceeds the magnitude of a shrub in our climate, although about Lat. 40° on this continent it becomes a large

tree. The *Æsculus* of Europe which was in the last century introduced from the North of Asia & which appears to be of 2 species bears a flower variegated with red and white, but ours which makes a very handsome ornament, produces spikes of flowers about 10 inches in length of one uniform bright blood-colour, it is difficult to say whether it ought to be placed with ye *Æsculus* of Europe in the class *Heptandria* or *Hexandria*; having, upon examination of the parts of fructification found as frequently six stamina as seven. The Inhabitants of this country have discovered that the root of this tree, mashed and beat up with warm water, possesses a detergent quality particularly applicable for the purposes of cleansing woollens, rendering the stuff extremely white and soft to the touch, soap being known to leave a disagreeable harshness proceeding from the attaction which takes place between the Alkali of the soap and the wool. It is said also to preserve unimpaired the fine dyes of chintz and calicoes, but I have observed that it does not produce the desired effect neither upon cotton or linen, seeming to adhere to it rather like Gum than soap; this shrub is the first to unfold its verdant foliage early in February if the weather prove not too rude, but its flower appears 3 or 4 weeks later. I have already observed that the last mentioned shrub grows to the size of a large tree to the northward; it would seem that each plant, and perhaps each animal has its favouring clime, for we observe on the other hand that the *Sassafras*, which here arrives to the bulk of 3 or 4 feet in diameter, in the New England States, is scarcely the size of a man's leg, and the *Chinquapin* which sometimes gets to the size of 18 inches or 2 feet diameter, though more commonly 8 or 10 inches with us, is no more than a bush or small shrub in northern Climes; the same may be said of many others.

The sweet Gum thrives equally in both high and low lands, always preferring the richest soils; it is the liquid amber of the Botanists affording the Gum storax; its wood is little esteemed, being extremely cross grained and much disposed to warp when exposed to the weather and rots quickly; being of a dull brown colour.

Many species of Vines are found on both low and high lands, three or 4 kinds bear Grapes which might be made into Wine,

the root of one has the properties of Salsaparilla and goes by the same name, the bark of the stem of this last vine is thick, soft and spongy, has an agreeable aromatic scent and hot pungent taste, it probably may contain medicinal or other properties.

One vine yields during the Winter and Spring a Saccharine juice superior in sweetness to that of the sugar-maple or cane, but I do not perceive that it can be made to flow abundantly. We have a Vine called the poison vine, from a property it possesses of affecting some persons passing near it, by causing an inflammation of the face resembling an Erysipelas. Other persons may handle this vine with impunity. It is believed perhaps without reason, that some are affected by only looking at it.

*List of the most remarkable vegetable productions of the high lands.*

[N. B.—Those marked thus (X) are common to the high and low lands.]

Magnolia Major.	X Elder.
X Bay, 3 or 4 species.	Myrtle wax tree.
Cucumber Tree.	X Persimmon
X Sweet Gum.	Papaw
Black Gum.	X Ash, 2 species.
Yellow Poplar, Liriodendrum.	Arsmart, polygonum.
White, do.	Poke, phytolacca.
Red Bud, Cercis.	Ginseng.
X Acacia or Locust.	Lesser Centaury.
X 3 thorned or honey locust.	Hawthorn.
X Black Mulberry, 3 species.	Pine, 2 species.
Wild Cherry.	X A great variety of vines, some bearing fruit.
Black Walnut.	X Wild pomegranate, passiflora.
Sassafras.	Wild pea.
Chinquapin.	Wild hop.
Linden, of the bark of which good ropes are made.	X Indian Potatoe.
Horse chestnut or buck eye.	Many species of the Convolvulus,
X Water poplar, Cotton tree, or	White, red, blue, yellow.
(perhaps) Lombardy Poplar.	Evergreen Spindle tree.
X Prickly Ash.	Euonimus called here
Beech.	Bears.
X Sycamore.	Grass, its leaves yield the strongest hemp.
X White thorn.	Wild Mallow, used as a precipitant in the manufacture of Indigo.
Tooth-ache tree, Zanthoxylum.	Black berries } Rubus.
Sumach.	White berries }
White Oak, 2 species.	Wood Straw berry.
Red and Black Oak, 10 Species.	8 or 10 species of Grass.
Holly.	Snake root.
Wild Plum, 3 species.	Spice wood.
Crab apple.	Long Moss.
X Elm, 2 species.	Besides the above there is an infinite number of Shrubs, plants and flowers, which might furnish an ample field of Amusement for an Expert Botanist.
Slippery Elm	
X Maple or plane tree.	
Sugar Maple.	
Hickory, 5 or 6 species.	
X Pakawn, Juglans alba	
a new species.	

*List of Trees and Plants cultivated by the Inhabitants of the Mississippi Territory and by those of the adjoining Spanish Provinces.*

Sugar Cane.	Spanish Walnut, very rare, but the climate is doubtless congenial to it.
Indigo, 2 species.	
Cotton, 2 varieties, dist'd. by the seed only.	Cherries do not succeed well.
Tobacco.	Plums, plenty and good, but the fine European plums bear not plentifully and often miss entirely.
Indian Corn, 8 or 10 varieties.	Peaches, Excellent and in great abundance.
Rice.	Apples thrive but indifferently.
Okra.	Pears, rare.
Squash.	Nectarines, subject to rot upon the Trees.
Sweet potatoe.	Apricots, not common. It is expected they will do well.
Irish Potatoe.	Figs, 3 or 4 species, produce abundantly and in great perfection.
Every species of root and leguminous plant, which are the productions of the Gardens of Europe or the U. S.	There are three crops in the year of which the middle one only yields plenty.
Guinea Corn.	Pomegranate, large & Fine.
Broom Corn.	Do Flowering.
Millet.	With a great variety of flowers, ornamental shrubs and medicinal herbs.
Pumpkins.	
Musk and Water Melons.	
Tomatoes.	
Egg plant.	
Ground nuts.	
Quinces, Very fine & very large.	
Almonds succeed well.	



# A HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE GEOLOGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

BY E. W. HILGARD<sup>1</sup>, LATE STATE GEOLOGIST.

The geological and agricultural survey of the State of Mississippi had its origin in an act of the Legislature entitled "An Act to further endow the University of Mississippi," approved March 5, 1850, which took effect on the 1st of June following. This act is worded as follows:

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted, &c.*, that the further sum of three thousand dollars be and the same is hereby semi-annually appropriated, subject to the draft of the President of the Board of Trustees of the University of Mississippi, to be applied by them to the purchasing of books and apparatus, and the payment of the salaries of professors and assistant professors of agricultural and geological sciences in said University; pro-

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<sup>1</sup>Prof. Eugene Woldemar Hilgard was born in Zweibrücken, Rhenish Bavaria, Jan. 5, 1833. He emigrated to America in 1836. After completing his collegiate education at Belleville, Ill., he took the degree of Ph. D. at Heidelberg in 1853. He also studied at Zurich, and at Freiberg, Saxony. The degree of LL. D. has been bestowed upon him by Columbia University, the University of Michigan, and the University of Mississippi. He was State geologist of Mississippi from 1855 to 1873, during which time he filled the chairs of Geology and of Chemistry successively. In 1873 he accepted the professorship of Geology and Natural History in the University of Michigan. After two years' service at this place he went to the University of California as Prof. of Agricultural Chemistry and Director of California Agricultural Experiment Station and Dean of the Faculty of Instruction in Agriculture in the University of California. He is at present actively engaged in the discharge of his duty at the University of California, Berkeley, California. In 1860 his *Report on Geology and Agriculture in Mississippi* was published by authority of the State Legislature. This valuable work is still regarded as a standard authority on the geological formations peculiar to Mississippi and the Southwest. In 1880 he directed and edited the work on the report entitled "Cotton Production in the U. S." (10th Census), to which he himself contributed detailed descriptions of the agricultural features of Mississippi, Louisiana and California. In 1894 he received the Liebig medal for distinguished achievements in agricultural science from the Academy of Sciences, Munich, Bavaria.

In 1860 Dr. Hilgard married Miss J. Alexandrina Bello, daughter of Col. Bello, of Madrid, Spain.

In spite of a comparatively feeble body, Dr. Hilgard's vigorous intellect and untiring energy have produced and published a large number of remarkably valuable papers upon topics of scientific interest and relating to a large variety of subjects connected with his wide field of activity.—EDITOR.



vided that one half only of the amount of said appropriation shall be from the revenue in the treasury, and the other half shall be made out of the sale of lands belonging to the seminary fund hereafter to be sold as provided by law.

SEC. 2. That the authority required by the State Treasurer for the payment of the trustees, shall be the warrant of the President of the Board of Trustees, drawn in favor of any person whatever.

SEC. 3. That at least one half of the amount herein appropriated shall be expended in making a general geological and agricultural survey of the State, under the direction of the principal professor to be appointed under the first section of this Act.

SEC. 4. That the survey herein provided for shall be accompanied with proper maps and diagrams, and furnish full and scientific descriptions of its rocks, soils and geological productions, together with specimens of the same; which maps, diagrams and specimens shall be deposited in the State Library and similar specimens shall be deposited in the State University, and such other literary institutions in the State as the Governor may direct; provided, that the survey shall be made in every county in this State.

SEC. 5. That the Trustees of the State University shall cause a report to be made annually to the Governor, to be by him laid before each session of the Legislature, setting forth, generally, the progress made in the survey hereby required.

SEC. 6. That this Act take effect and be in force from and after the first day of June next.

Under the somewhat loose provisions and phraseology of this act Dr. John Millington, at the time professor of chemistry at the University of Mississippi, was in June, 1850, appointed to the position and additional duties provided for by it. No assistant was obtained until July 15, 1851, when Oscar M. Lieber, of South Carolina, was appointed to the position. No record or report of Lieber's work was made; during a portion of his incumbency (presumably in autumn of 1852), he made, on horseback, a reconnoissance of the Yazoo Bottom; but nothing beyond that fact appears from the letters written by him under the regulation defining his duties, which provides that "When not actually engaged in making explorations and surveys, he shall aid the principal professor of geology, agriculture and chemistry in the discharge of his duties; and while engaged in making such surveys, he shall make reports at least monthly to the principal professor, and the salary of said assistant professor shall be \$1,000 per annum." Lieber resigned on January 14, 1852.

In January, 1852, the position was accepted by Prof. B. L. C. Wailes, then of the faculty of Jefferson College, near Natchez. This gentleman had already made a collection of rocks and fossils of the southwestern part of the State, and had quite

an extended knowledge of the general features of the latter. There was also passed by the Legislature, in session at the time, "An Act to amend an Act to further endow the University of Mississippi, approved March 5, 1850," the provisions of which are as follows:

SEC. 1. That the 4th section of the above recited act be so amended as to read "Zoological" instead of "Geological" productions.

SEC. 2. That the room adjoining the State Library, formerly occupied by the Surveyor-General, be appropriated and set apart for the deposit and safe keeping of such specimens as may be collected during the progress of the geological survey, provided for in the above recited Act; and that the sum of 200 dollars be appropriated, out of any money in the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to defray the expenses of fitting up and preparing said room for the reception of said specimens.

SEC. 3. That the fitting up of said room shall be done under the direction of the Governor, upon whose requisition the auditor shall issue his warrant for the sum herein appropriated, or so much of said sum as may be necessary.

SEC. 4. That the said room after being so fitted up shall be under the charge of the State Geological Society, who shall be authorized to employ the librarian as curator of the same.

SEC. 5. That the said room shall be open to the public during such hours as the State Library is now required by law to keep open, and the librarian shall be allowed an additional compensation of \$50 per annum for the services required by the 4th section of this Act.

It will be noted that by the verbal correction made in the first section of this act, the survey was practically made a complete natural history survey: since the only branch not specifically provided for—botany—might be understood to be necessarily included in the provisions for an agricultural survey. The State society mentioned had but a very ephemeral existence during the two succeeding years, viz: 1852 and 1853, Mr. Wailes traveled chiefly in the southern and eastern part of the State with his own team and outfit, examining the territory of the cretaceous in northeast Mississippi and the tertiary and quarternary areas in the southern part of the State.

Collections of tertiary fossils, especially from the shell bed at Jackson, were sent by Wailes to Conrad, and mammalian and other bones from the loess to Leidy, for determination and description; and collections of these and other fossils as well as of rocks were by him deposited both at Oxford and at Jackson.

In January, 1854, Wailes presented to the Board of Trustees of the University of Mississippi the manuscript of his report on the work of the two preceding years, which was transmitted

through the Governor to the Legislature, with the recommendation that it be printed. The legislative committee to whom it was referred reported back the following act, which was passed and under which the survey was thereafter carried on for a number of years:

#### AN ACT

To authorize the printing of the first annual report of the Agricultural Geological survey of the State.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi*, That two thousand copies of the report of Professor B. C. L. Wailes, State Geologist, be printed under his supervision, in quarto form, and in such manner, and with such illustrations and plates, as his excellency the Governor shall deem appropriate and necessary for its illustration.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That when printed and bound the said report be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, to be by him distributed as follows: fifty copies to be deposited in the State Library; twenty-five copies to be deposited in the State University; one copy to each State in the union; one copy to be given to each incorporated college and academy in the State; one copy each to the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, State Treasurer, Adjutant General, the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellors, the Judges of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, the Attorney General, the Judge and District Attorney of each District, each member of the present Senate and House of Representatives, and one hundred copies to the said State Geologist, to be by him exchanged for similar reports from other States, and to furnish to scientific societies and public libraries.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That one thousand copies of said report shall be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, to be sold by any agent or agents to be appointed by the Governor, under such regulations and for such sum as he may deem proper and advisable, for the purpose of re-imbursing the State for publishing the same, and the balance to be distributed among the several counties of the State, in proportion to their representation in the Legislature, to be furnished to the people thereof, in such manner as the Boards of Police of the several counties may direct.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That previous to the printing of said report, it shall be revised and completed by the said State Geologist; and the portion of it which treats of zoology, as far as prepared, shall be omitted, and in lieu thereof, a catalogue of the fauna of the State, as far as ascertained shall be substituted.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That for the farther and more efficient prosecution of the survey, analyses of the marls, soils, mineral waters, and the chief agricultural productions of the State, shall be made at the University of Mississippi, as the Trustees may designate; and the State Geologist may, from time to time, furnish such soils, marls and waters as may be required for analysis, and shall receive in return from the chemist full and precise reports of all analyses which may be made; and specimens of soils and marls shall be preserved in convenient glass bottles in the State Cabinet and in the Cabinet of the State University, properly labeled with the chemical character of the substance and the locality from which the same was obtained.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Geologist shall make collections of specimens to illustrate the mineral character and paleontology of the State, in addition to the zoological productions which by law he is now required to collect, and to cause them to be suitably

arranged and preserved in the State Cabinet, and in that of the University; and any duplicates that remain may be distributed by him among such of the incorporated colleges in the State as may apply for them.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That a sum not to exceed two thousand five hundred dollars, be appropriated out of any money in the treasury, to be drawn upon the requisition of the Governor, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 8. *Be it further enacted*, That this Act shall be in force from and after its passage.

Approved March 1, 1854.

Wailles' *Report* (the first of the Mississippi geological reports), of which the publication was provided for by the above act, bears the imprint of "E. Barksdale, State Printer, 1854," but was actually printed at Philadelphia, where Wailles remained during the greater part of 1854 to superintend its passage through the press. The volume is an octavo of 371 pages, with 17 illustrations, partly of a historical character, partly referring to the cotton industry; eight illustrate geological subjects, the most important being four plates of shells from the Jackson shell bed, named and described by Conrad. The report begins with a "Historical outline" covering 125 pages; a treatise on the agriculture of the State, partly historical and dealing largely with cotton culture, followed by some analyses of marls, cotton ashes and mineral waters, and covering 81 pages; meteorological data, 12 pp.; lists of fauna and flora, 46 pages; appendices, with documents, 25 pp. This summary is sufficiently indicative of the fact that Wailles was not, and did not write as a specialist in any department. He makes no attempt to classify the rocks he describes otherwise than as Cretaceous, Tertiary and Quaternary, and inferentially classes among the latter the sandstone of the Grand Gulf group, which is mentioned as overlying "diluvial gravel." He traces correctly the northern limit of the Grand Gulf rocks from the Mississippi across Pearl river to Brandon, and describes its occurrence in southwestern Mississippi.

It will be noted that although the act of 1854 designates Wailles as "State Geologist," it does not create that office, which still remained an appendage of the chair of geology at the University of Mississippi. It was expected that Wailles would be elected to that chair, which in autumn 1853 had been vacated by Dr. Millington. At an election held in June,

1854, however, the choice for that position fell on Lewis Harper.\*

Wailles, thereupon, immediately resigned his position, which remained vacant until September, 1855. Up to the summer of 1855 Harper, bearing the titles of professor of geology and agriculture, and State Geologist, had not taken the field himself. He was now by action of the Board of Trustees relieved from a portion of his duties as instructor, and directed to take the field personally, for the purposes provided for in the act. Besides, Dr. F. A. P. Barnard, then professor of physics at the university, was requested to secure a competent assistant geologist at a salary of \$1,000 per annum, during a contemplated visit to the North. At the Providence meeting of the Am. Ass'n Adv. of Science, August, 1885, Dr. Barnard fulfilled his mission by tendering the appointment to the writer (then lately returned from Europe), who promptly accepted it, amid the sincere condolence of his scientific friends upon his assignment to so uninteresting a field, where the paleozoic formations (then occupying almost exclusively the minds of American geologists), were unrepresented.

On the way south, a few weeks later, I paid a visit of several days to Dr. David Dale Owen and his assistants, E. T. Cox and S. S. Lyon (then engaged in the work of the Arkansas State geological survey), at New Harmony, with a view of obtaining suggestions for the work before me. This visit was most important and fruitful in giving direction to my subsequent studies and methods.

Reaching Oxford about the middle of September, 1855, I found that Harper had then just returned from a rapid reconnaissance of the cretaceous and tertiary prairie regions in eastern Mississippi; and it was agreed that we should as soon as possible set out on a joint exploration over the same route, to be continued to the Gulf shore; thence across the southern counties of the State to the Mississippi river. The start was

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\*Properly, Ludwig Hafner, of Hamburg, Germany, originally a student of law, who for political reasons had to leave the country before graduation, and subsequently became interested in natural history; then a teacher of natural science at an academy near Greenville, Alabama.

made early in October, the outfit consisting of an ambulance carrying a camping outfit, and a negro driver, who at the same time performed the office of cook. The cretaceous prairie country on the Tombigby river was reached near Okolona, whence the route lay through Aberdeen to Columbus; thence, leaving the cretaceous territory, through Neshoba and Kemper counties to Enterprise on the Chickasawhay river, and along that stream, crossing all the marine tertiary stages, as far south as Leakville, Green county. It then became apparent that there was not time to reach the coast, as intended, without the risk of being caught in a very remote and thinly settled region, by the early winter. We therefore turned westward at once and reached the Mississippi at Fort Adams, from which point we took steamer passage to Memphis, Tenn.

This expedition was made too rapidly and with too few facilities for making collections, to afford anything more than a very general insight into the character and relations of the several cretaceous and tertiary stages. It was shown conclusively that the dip of all the marine tertiary beds is southward, except only as regards the Grand Gulf rocks, whose relations to the rest we had no opportunity of observing, since they are unrepresented in the Chickasawhay section, save by clays of which the equivalence was not then apparent.

Meanwhile it had become apparent to the University trustees that in its present form the survey was in more than one respect a burden to the University; and, accordingly, at the legislative session of 1855-6, Governor McRae, in transmitting to the Legislature the regular report of the trustees of the University of Mississippi, accompanies it by a special message in which occurs the following passage:

"The first portion of the trustees' report relates to the geological survey of the State Geologist, and proposes the separation of this survey from the University; and asks that it may be taken charge of by the State, as an independent work under the direction of the Governor. The reasons for this are fully set forth in the report, and may be recapitulated in brief as follows:

1. The geological survey does not form a part of the course of instruction in the University, and is not properly connected with the business of the institution.

2. The duties of the State Geologist, under the present arrangement, being partly as professor in the University, partly in the field survey, neither position can be fully or satisfactorily filled by him. Either the classes in this department must suffer in his absence, or the survey in the field be neglected to give them proper attention.

3. The funds of the University are not sufficient to justify it in bestowing a portion of them on a work, however important and valuable to the State, that is not legitimately a portion of its business.

The appropriation by the State of \$3,000 annually for the geological survey, pays no more than the salary of the principal and assistant geologists; and the outfit and traveling expenses, &c., amounting to as much more, have to be provided for out of the college funds. This is unjust to the University, and the divided time of the State Geologist between the University and the field, operates injuriously both to the interests of the University and the State. I would not be understood by this, nor would the Board of Trustees, as casting any reflection upon the learned gentleman who now fills the place of State Geologist, and whom they and myself believe to be well and highly qualified for the duties of that station, nor would we have it understood, and the Board of Trustees would not, that we detract in the slightest measure from the great interest and importance to the State of having a geological survey thoroughly and efficiently prosecuted. The object is to place it in the hands of the State and under the direction of her authority, where it properly belongs, and to have it vigorously prosecuted to completion at the earliest day. I therefore recommend to the Legislature, to place it in this position and to provide the means necessary to accomplish this object. It is believed that an appropriation annually, for three years of \$6,000, will be sufficient to complete the entire work within that period.

The report of Professor Harper, herewith submitted, contains much valuable information—shows a high degree of scientific attainment on his part, and gives evidence that when the work is completed, it will be one of great value to the public. The present report is only preliminary and partial and is not designed for publication at this time; but is to be embodied and published in the general report when completed."

The suggestion of the Governor was not, however, favorably acted upon by the Legislature; the matter was left in *statu quo*, but with the understanding that a vigorous prosecution of the work should pave the way to more satisfactory legislation at a succeeding session.

After passing the winter at Oxford in the arrangement of the collections and preparations for analytical work, I proceeded in April, 1856, to make a detailed exploration of the northeastern portion of the State, where the geological structure seemed most complex and varied. In the course of this expedition, made with the same outfit that had served the year before, I determined the character, stratigraphical relations and limits of the carboniferous, cretaceous and tertiary beds of that part of the State, making extended collections especially of

what was afterwards designated as the Ripley Group of the cretaceous by Conrad.\*

I also investigated closely the features and geological relations of the "Orange Sand" (now better known as the Lafayette formation of the Southwest), showing its derivation partly from northern sources, partly from the underlying formations of which it contains the fossils; distinctly characterizing it as a quaternary deposit.

It having become clearly apparent to me by this time that the survey would never maintain itself in public esteem on the basis of mineral discoveries, and that it must seek its main support in what services it might render to agriculture, I made a point of paying close attention to and recording the surface features<sup>4</sup>, vegetation, soils, the quality and supply of water, and especially the marls, which I found to occur in large supply and great variety. I also made a collection of plants, which, although omitted from the subjects mentioned in the act creating the survey, I perceived was essential toward the characterization of soils. In the prosecution of these studies, the close connection between the surface vegetation and the underlying formations became so striking, that I soon largely availed myself of the former in tracing out the limits of adjacent formations, in searching for outcrops, etc.

I also, by current inquiry among the inhabitants, ascertained all that was known regarding the peculiarities, merits and demerits of the several regions or soils, from an agricultural point

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\*A collection of fossils from these beds was sent to Conrad by Dr. Spillman, of Columbus, to whom I had given a list of good fossiliferous localities of that group, of which he promptly availed himself. The same season (1856) in Conrad's published description of these fossils (*Jour. Acad. Sci., Philadelphia, Vol. IV, N. S., pp. 275 to 291.*) Dr. Spillman is erroneously credited with being the discoverer of the Ripley beds. My original collection, containing a number of species still undescribed was unfortunately never seen by Conrad, with whom I twice made arrangements for a protracted visit to Oxford for the purpose of studying the collections of the survey. His feeble health and subsequent death prevented the carrying-out of this program.

<sup>4</sup>No instrumental topographical work was ever done in connection with the Mississippi survey, partly because it was not provided for by law, partly because the continually recurring violent barometric changes during the working season rendered the use of the aneroid, so useful elsewhere, very unsatisfactory. The railroad levelings then available were, however, fully and extensively used by me, and were excluded from the report of 1860, simply by the absolute need of brevity for the sake of reducing the expense of publication.



of view, and studied their practice and its results on the several soils and crops.

During the latter part of the season of 1856, I extended the detailed survey of the cretaceous area as far south as Columbus; and thence, as the beginning of the rainy season rendered farther field work unprofitable, I drove across the country to Tuscaloosa, Ala., in order to compare notes and consult with Tuomey, then State Geologist of Alabama, and to gain an insight into the works of reference for cretaceous and tertiary paleontology; of which not one had been provided by Harper, although at his request the costly illustrated works of Goldfuss, D'Orbigny and others, treating of European paleontology, had been placed in the University library. As these works did not furnish us with the means of identifying the fossils of the Mississippi formations, Harper seriously proposed to confer on them all, names of our own making, irrespective of previous observers. Upon my suggestion that this was rather an unusual mode of proceeding and might at the very least give rise to some confusion, he agreed that I might try to obtain from Tuomey the necessary information as to the possibility of procuring the existing American works, of which he, however, expressed a very low opinion. Hence my excursion to Tuscaloosa, in which I reaped the benefit of Tuomey's previous labors, and came to an understanding with him in respect to the subdivisions of the cretaceous, recognized by him. It happened that he had just returned from an excursion to the (Ripley) cretaceous area of Chunnenugga Ridge, which was entirely new to him, and the relations of which to the other groups he had not yet made out. Recognizing the characteristic fossils and marlstones of the Ripley group, I was enabled to clear up that point as well as the relations of the "Tombigby Sand" fossils (which had been sent to him from Columbus by Dr. Spillman) to the "Rotten Limestone," which we had thus far designated as "Upper," but agreed henceforth to consider as middle cretaceous. I then learned for the first time that he had found fossils,—well preserved ammonites and several gastropods, silicified, in the lower cretaceous clays near Eutaw (or rather Finch's Ferry), Alabama; and we agreed to designate this lower clayey stage, which in Mississippi I had found entirely barren of fossils, as the "Eutaw" group. Subsequently,

prior publication gave precedence to Safford's name of "Coffee group" for the lower clays, and similarly my "Tippah group" received from Conrad the prior name of "Ripley" for the uppermost cretaceous. Tuomey had at that time a portion of his second report in manuscript; and as unfortunately he died six months after our conference, after a protracted illness, that report, which was posthumously edited by J. W. Mallet, does not show the latest phase of Tuomey's knowledge of the cretaceous stages. As his collections were mostly destroyed during the war, it is of interest to record here, from my personal observation, that almost all the cretaceous fossils marked "Miss." in list "A," p. 257, of that report, were from the "Tombigby Sand" and the immediately overlying portion of the "Rotten Limestone," in Lowndes county, Miss.; the "Ammonites Binodosus," recorded in the same list, from Eutaw, Ala., was considered by him as a "leading fossil" of the lower cretaceous clays; the specimens were all silicified and in excellent preservation.

As regards the tertiary formations, Tuomey was strongly impressed with the fact that the older stages reappear above the drainage level to the southward, after sinking out of view at the St. Stephens bluff; and he suggested to me then that what I subsequently named the "Grand Gulf rocks" might be equivalents of the "Burstone" sandstones of South Carolina. So far as this point is concerned I was therefore strongly impressed with the same ideas that have been so persistently set forth by Otto Meyer. Having obtained from Tuomey references to all publications then extant on the cretaceous and tertiary of the south and west, I returned to Oxford in November, across a country rendered almost impassable by copious rains.

I found matters rapidly coming to a crisis at the University. Harper had been provided with a separate ambulance outfit, and had taken the field for a few weeks during the season of 1856 in the northwestern counties; but he seemed to be unable to keep away from Oxford for any length of time. Finally, the dissatisfaction of the Board of Trustees with his personal acts, in relation both to the survey and to the University, came to a head in November, 1856, when he was forced to resign. I was continued as assistant, with compensation increased to

\$1,500 per annum, and was for the time being placed in charge of the survey, the office work of which I continued during the winter.

At the legislative session of 1856-'7, however, Harper, by strenuous effort, procured the passage of an act entitled "An Act to provide for the printing of the Second Annual Report of the Agricultural and Geological Survey of the State, and for other purposes," approved January 31, 1857. The substantial provisions of this act were, first, the complete separation of the survey from all connection with the State University; second, that the survey should be prosecuted to completion according to the provisions of the previous act, "by a State Geologist, to be appointed by the Governor, and to receive a salary of two thousand dollars per annum, to be furnished with such an outfit as may be necessary, to be provided under the direction of the Governor; he shall also keep an exact account of his expenses in making said survey, and submit the same to the examination of the Governor, who shall issue his requisition upon the treasury for the amount, provided the sum shall not exceed one thousand dollars per annum." An appropriation of twelve hundred dollars was also made for the purchase of chemical apparatus for making analyses, and the State Geologist was authorized (as a measure of economy suggested by himself), to "occupy as a laboratory the two front rooms in the second story of the penitentiary building; and he shall be allowed the assistance of one convict, to be named by the inspectors, to aid him in keeping his apparatus in good order." It was also ordered "that five thousand copies of Professor Harper's report be printed," and thereafter distributed in accordance with the provisions of the former act. The sum of thirty-five hundred dollars was appropriated for this publication, and Harper entered upon the office on March 1, 1857, but was voted compensation from the date of his resignation, in November preceding. The only work performed by him during his tenure of office under this act, was the writing and publication of his report, which was done under his personal supervision at New York, although, like the former report, it bears the imprint of the State printer at Jackson.

Of this report it need only be said that it is a literary, linguistic and scientific curiosity, and probably unique in official

publications of its kind. It is the labored attempt of a sciolist to show erudition, and to compass the impossible feat of interpreting and discussing intelligently a considerable mass of observations mostly recorded by another working on a totally different plan from himself. In making use of my field notes, which of course passed into his hands, the facts as well as the conclusions suffered such distortion that but for the introduction of all the figures and diagrams given in my manuscript, I should have been unable in many cases to recognize my own work. It is thus that the "Orange Sand" becomes in his hands "The Miocene Formation;" while what he saw of the Port Hudson beds, as well as the quarternary gravels, are referred to the eocene. Shortly after the publication of the book, I publicly disclaimed all responsibility for either facts or conclusions pretended to be based upon my work, since although my name is nowhere mentioned in the volume, the innumerable errors would, in the course of time, be likely to be laid at my door. The circulation of the report through the State soon produced the inevitable result of discrediting its author to such extent that toward the end of the year 1857 he was obliged to resign his office.

Shortly afterwards the appointment was tendered to me (then acting as chemist to the Smithsonian Institution), and accepted; and I entered upon its duties early in 1858. At Jackson I found in the "two front rooms in the second story of the penitentiary," under the charge of the convict assistant, the outcome of the purchases made by Harper under the provision for the outfitting of an analytical laboratory. It consisted essentially of apparatus for elementary lectures in chemistry, and an expensive microscope; the analytical balance was represented by a pair of apothecary's scales, etc. Under authority of the Governor, a portion of the useless articles were sold, and the proceeds applied to the purchase of necessities for analytical work, and under the same authority and by permission of the Board of Trustees of the State University, I transferred the whole to a front room in the University building at Oxford, which I fitted up as a laboratory, at a personal expense of \$600, for the time being. By this evasion of the law, framed under Harper's auspices (which was mandatory only in respect to the location of the "office," but not of the laboratory), the survey was again

practically restored to its original connection with the University, without which the work could not be successfully carried on under so small an appropriation.

I took the field again in April, with the same outfit, an ambulance with two mules and a negro driver, and starting at the Ripley cretaceous, I devoted the season to the verification of a full section across the tertiary area, from north to south; including also the detailed examination of the fossiliferous localities of the "Jackson" and "Vicksburg" stages in their most characteristic development. Contrary to my first impressions, I found the Vicksburg beds everywhere along their southern limit of outcrops, dipping southward *under* the lignito-gypseous and sandstone strata of the "Grand Gulf" group, which rise abruptly and sometimes in steep escarpments from the low rolling or prairie country of the Vicksburg area; and being thus led to consider the Grand Gulf rocks as belonging to a miocene or possibly pleiocene epoch, I devoted considerable time to the study of its features and to the search for fossils. That this search was unavailing so far as the finding of definite animal forms is concerned, and that a subsequent continuation of the search over the rest of its area in Mississippi and Louisiana has led to no better results, I have stated and discussed in later publications.<sup>5</sup>

The fundamental fact of the infra-position of the Vicksburg beds to those of the Grand Gulf group that has been called in question by Otto Meyer, can easily be verified by any one understanding the logic of stratigraphical and hypsometrical facts in numerous localities along the belt of contact. I mention especially the outcrops at Mississippi Springs on Pearl river below Byram; on Richland creek, Rankin county; on the Brandon and Byram road; north of Raleigh, Smith county, and at numerous other points, both in Mississippi and Louisiana. No other interpretation of the stratigraphical facts is possible in a region where disturbances (apart from small local faults), are unknown, and where the broad facts are identical from the Chickasawhay to the Sabine.

In passing through the State I became painfully conscious

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<sup>5</sup>See my *Mississippi Report of 1860*, p. 147. *Am. Jour. Sci.*, 1887; *Ibid.*, Nov., 1869; *Ibid.*, Dec., 1871; *Ibid.*, July, 1881; also *Smith's Contr. Sci. Memoir*, No. 248.

of the fact that the survey had become extremely unpopular, as a consequence of Harper's incumbency and report; so much so that it was often very difficult to obtain information, or even civil answers to inquiries. I felt that it would be necessary to throw off, and purge myself completely, of the obnoxious antecedents, if the survey appropriation was to be sustained at the coming session of the Legislature. I therefore, after consulting with Governor McWillie, wrote a short *Report upon the Condition of the Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State of Mississippi*, of 22 pages, 8vo., which was printed by executive order and circulated prior to the session of the Legislature in the winter of 1858-'9. In this report I discussed, first, the need and advantages of a thorough geological and agricultural survey of the State; recited the causes of the slow progress and failure to satisfy the public, chief among which were inadequate appropriations and the incompetency of the late incumbent; also gave examples of what had been done in the matter in other States, and closed with a recommendation for the repeal of the law locating the headquarters of the survey in the State Penitentiary, and for the restoration of the geological assistantship, in connection with a more reasonably adequate appropriation.

The storm, however, broke loose when the Legislature assembled. Those who had been instrumental in passing Harper's bill in 1857, were now most eager to have the survey "wiped out" to allay their soreness. A special committee was appointed to investigate the subject, and without even giving me a hearing, that committee promptly reported a "bill to abolish the geological and agricultural survey of the State." In presenting this report the chairman inveighed fiercely against the insolence exhibited in my report, above alluded to, and my attempt to "coerce the Legislature by forestalling public opinion." The report to abolish would undoubtedly have been promptly adopted, but for my forcing a personal conference with the chairman; in which I presented to him the documents in the case and exhorted him to abolish *me*, if he thought there was cause, but not the *survey*, the revival of which would only be a question of time. After this, the "bill to abolish" was not called up, and the survey remained in *statu quo* during 1859.

The previous season's work having settled conclusively the

succession of the several stages of the tertiary, and their prominent stratigraphical, lithological and paleontological features, I devoted the season of 1859 to the filling-in of details. I went more leisurely over the ground intended to have been covered by the previous joint expedition of Harper and myself in 1855, viz: from the southern border of the cretaceous area, near Columbus, down the Chickasawhay and Pascagoula valleys to the sea coast; along the coast to Pearl river, up that river to Columbia, Marion county, and thence across to the Mississippi; thence northward along the eastern border of the loess region to the belt of marine tertiary, which I also examined more in detail between Jackson and Vicksburg. All these observations only served to confirm and complete my previous conclusions; the only new point being the examination of the perplexing aspects under which the "Port Hudson group" (then provisionally designated by me as "Coast Pliocene"), appears on the shores of Mississippi Sound. I was not long in rejecting all ideas of its direct connection with the Grand Gulf strata; but its true character of a littoral member of the deposits of the loess epoch did not become apparent to me until, later on, I had the opportunity of studying, connectedly, the geology of southern Louisiana.\*

Returning from the field somewhat earlier than usual, I began the arrangement of materials for a report, to be presented at the legislative session of 1859-'60, with a view to its publication and the procurement of a better endowment for the survey.

As an earnest of the work done, I put up a collection of soils and marls, gathered during the three years' work, and had it on exhibition at the State Fair held at Jackson in November. It excited a good deal of attention and newspaper comment, and gave a favorable turn to public opinion, previously aroused by frequent communications of results made by me to agricultural and other papers of the State. Outside of the fair week I carried on the work of analysis and writing, simultaneously and unremittingly; the only assistance received being that of cataloguing of the tertiary fossils by Prof. W. D. Moore, then holding the chair of English literature at the University of

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\* See *Smiths. Contr. Sci., Memoir No. 248*, above referred to.

Mississippi. The manuscript was not nearly completed when the Legislature convened in December, 1859. But there was enough to satisfy a special committee that it should be printed, and that the working facilities should be enlarged.

The bill reported by that committee and afterwards passed with little difficulty by the Legislature, makes no radical changes in the previous act defining the objects of the survey; but provides for the appointment of an assistant geologist at a salary of \$1,500; enlarging the limits of the annual "expenses necessarily incurred in fitting up a chemical laboratory," and repealing the provision for keeping an office at Jackson; permitting the alternative of having it at Oxford. An appropriation of three thousand five hundred dollars is made for printing the report, "with such diagrams and maps as the Governor shall deem necessary for its illustration; and it is hereby especially enjoined upon his excellency, in the publication of said book, to have the same performed at the South, if the same can be done at an advance of ten per cent. upon the cost of its publication at the North."

The latter clause was a characteristic sign of the times. The act was approved by the Governor, February 10, 1860. It was soon and easily ascertained that the five thousand copies of the volume could not be printed anywhere at the South at an advance of ten per cent. on New York prices; but Governor Pettus declared that he would not allow it to go North under any circumstances, even if it had to remain unprinted. The estimates prepared by Mr. E. Barksdale, the State printer, showed that to do the work in his office would cost over \$4,000, at the lowest estimate I placed upon the uncompleted manuscript. Finally, Mr. Barksdale proposed that if I should be personally responsible for \$250 of the excess of cost over the amount allowed by the State, he would cover the rest; and I accepted the proposition. The Governor relented so far as to allow the map, which could not be furnished by any Southern establishment, to be prepared by the Coltons, at New York; the other plates were prepared at New Orleans. The printing was begun at Jackson in May, 1860; the latter parts of the report were largely written while the first portions were passing through the press. But several forms were not yet in print when in August imperative matters called me to Europe, and



Prof. W. D. Moore, who had previously aided me in working up the lists of fossils, undertook to see the remainder of the work through the press. Hence there remain in the latter part of the book a number of uncorrected errata, of which none, however, are of material consequence.

In this report (which except as otherwise credited in the text, represents my personal field, office and laboratory work during four years), I undertook to separate, as far as possible, the purely scientific part from that bearing directly upon practical points, in order to render the latter as accessible to unscientific readers as the nature of the case permitted; while at the same time giving scientific discussion full swing in its proper place. This was the more necessary, as my predecessor's reports had been sharply criticised in this respect; and I think the result has justified my judgment in the premises. The volume is thus divided nearly evenly between a "geological" and "agricultural" portion; the former giving under the special heading of "useful materials" the technically important features of each formation, after its geological characters have been discussed. In the agricultural portion, it seemed needful at the time to give, by way of introduction, a brief discussion of the principles of agricultural chemistry, then but little understood by the general public; and, accordingly, fifty pages are given to this subject, and are discussed with reference to the agricultural practice of the State. In the special or descriptive portion of the agricultural report, the State is divided into "regions" characterized by more or less uniformity of soil and surface features; and each is considered in detail with respect to all natural features bearing on agricultural pursuits; special attention being given to the nature of the soils, as shown by their vegetation and analysis. In the latter respect I departed pointedly from the then prevailing opinions, by which soil analysis was held to be practically useless. My exploration of the State had shown me such intimate connection between the natural vegetation and the varying chemical nature of the underlying strata that have contributed to soil formation, as to greatly encourage the belief that definite results could be eliminated from the discussion of a considerable number of analyses, of soils carefully observed and classified with respect both to their origin and their natural vegetation, and a comparison of these data with the

results of cultivation; and that thus it would become possible, after all, to do what Liebig originally expected could be done, viz: to predict measurably the behavior of soils in cultivation from their chemical composition. To what extent this expectation has been fulfilled, is hardly apparent from the very limited number of analyses which my unaided work was able to furnish for the report of 1860. But the lights then obtained encouraged me to persevere in the same line of investigation, in the face of much adverse criticism, when wider opportunities presented themselves afterwards. By the aid of these I think I may fairly claim, that the right of soil analysis to be considered as an essential and often decisive factor in the *a priori* estimation of the cultural value of virgin soils, has been well established alongside of the limitations imposed by physical and climatic conditions, and by previous intervention of culture.<sup>1</sup>

With the recognition of these facts, the importance of agricultural surveys to the population of especially the newer States and territories becomes sufficiently obvious to command at least the same attention as those investigations directed specially to the recognition of the geological and mineral resources of the same regions; and the "classification of lands," provided for under the law creating the United States Geological Survey, assumes a new and more pressing significance. Even apart from any special investigations of soil composition, the right of the agricultural interests to at least a good, intelligent and intelligible description of the surface features of a region, given with respect to its agricultural capabilities and its attractions for settlers, can hardly be denied. With the additional possibilities opened by the intelligent application of soil investigation, there is no excuse for the neglect, sometimes almost absolute, with which this branch of the public surveys has thus far mostly been treated by those charged with their execution.

Dr. David Dale Owen was, among the older American geologists, the one who most steadily kept the agricultural interests in view, and gave them prominence in his researches and reports. While my personal intercourse with him predisposed me

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<sup>1</sup>For a more extended exemplification and discussion of the nature and utility of such work, see the "Report on Cotton Production in the United States" Vols. 5 and 6 of the *Reports of the 10th Census*; also *Am. Jour. Sci.*, Dec., 1872, p. 434; *Ibid.*, Sept., p. 183.

to follow his example in this respect, my further experience has only served to strengthen my conviction that a reasonable proportion of attention given to agricultural work would effectually smooth the path of our State surveys, whose fate is forever trembling in the balance at each reassembling of the legislative bodies upon which their continued endowment depends, and by whose country members their utility is constantly called in question. No such question was raised in Mississippi after the publication of my report of 1860; and the legislative appropriations for substantially similar work done by me on behalf of agriculture have since been liberally maintained in California, despite the conspicuous disfavor with which the geological survey of that State has for many years past been regarded by the public. Had that survey been adapted to the legitimate needs of the State, by proper diligence in the pursuit of its agricultural side, the discontinuance of the work could never have been carried through the Legislature.

As a striking exemplification of the change wrought in public sentiment by the energetic prosecution of agricultural survey work, I may quote the action taken at the called session of the Legislature of Mississippi in August, 1861. Under the terrible stress brought to bear on the State even then by the impending conflict, it would have been natural to expect the complete extinction of the appropriation for the survey work. Instead of this, an act was passed suspending the appropriation for the geological survey "until the close of the war, and for twelve months thereafter; except the sum of twelve hundred and fifty dollars, per annum, which shall be applied to the payment of the salary of the State geologist, and the purchase of such chemicals as may be necessary to carry on the analysis of soils, minerals and mineral waters and to enable him to preserve the apparatus, analyses and other property of the State connected with said survey." This appropriation was actually maintained during the entire struggle of the Confederacy; and so far as the vicissitudes of war permitted, the chemical work (and even some field work) was continued by me during the same time. The scarcity of salt suggested the utilization of some of the saline waters and efflorescences so common in the southern part of the State, and some forty (unpublished) analyses of such

saline mixtures are on record. I made an official report on the subject to Governor Pettus, dated June 9, 1862. I also made a special exploration on the several limestone caves of the State, with a view to the discovery of nitrous earths; but from the fact that these caves are all traversed by lively streams, I found nowhere a sufficient accumulation of nitrates to render exploitation useful.

Soon after the beginning of active hostilities in Tennessee, the University faculty having been dissolved, I was detailed by the Governor, as commander of the State militia, to take charge of the State property at the University during the war; and this, as well as a subsequent appointment by the Confederate authorities as an agent of the "Nitre Bureau," prevented my being called into active service; except on the occasion of the siege of Vicksburg, when, toward the end of that memorable epoch, I was ordered to erect "calcium lights" on the bluffs above the city, for the illumination of the Federal gunboats when attempting to run the gauntlet of the batteries. The difficulties of construction and procuring of the necessary materials delayed the completion of the arrangements, so that on the occasion of the final passage of the fleet no adequate light could be given. From a hospital at Jackson, where I was a patient at the time of its first capture, I soon afterwards made my way to my post at Oxford, where I remained on duty during the rest of the war. This duty was oftentimes a very arduous one, Oxford being then within the "belt of desolation" between the two armies, which swept back and forth over it. The survey collections had several very narrow escapes from destruction when the buildings were hastily occupied for hospital purposes; they were several times transferred on hospital cots from one building to another, but finally escaped without any material injury. Not so the collections at the capitol at Jackson, where the shelves and cases seem to have been swept with the butts of muskets, and the floor was strewn with broken specimens and shattered glass jars. About one-third of the collections stored there was entirely ruined, and of the remainder nearly all the labels were lost.

On my return from Europe in November 1860, I found my report in print, and shortly afterwards it was shipped to St. Louis for binding. The political events which soon afterward

convulsed the country, prevented the return of the bound edition to Mississippi. It remained warehoused in the binder's hands during the entire war between the States, and it was not until 1865 that measures were taken for its recovery. The war and the "twelve months thereafter" having expired, the survey was revived *ipso facto* on the basis of the act of 1860; and I found the State printer of that time, Mr. E. Barksdale, determined to carry out to the letter his agreement in respect to the publication of the report; thus likewise reviving my obligation to contribute \$250 toward the payment of its cost, which under the conditions then existing was a heavy tax. The edition was received at Jackson early in 1866, and thence distributed according to law.

The mule team of the survey had been sold under authority from the Governor, soon after the passage of the act of suspension. There being no legal mode of turning the proceeds into the State treasury, they remained in my custody in the form of "Cotton Money" (notes issued by the State upon "cotton pledged" for their redemption) during the war; and as at its end these notes had become worthless, the survey was left without means for repurchase. Subsequently, however, a suitable team was procured out of the appropriations for current expenditures.

Dr. George Little, formerly professor of natural sciences at Oakland College, near Rodney, Miss., was appointed assistant geologist in July, 1866, and shortly thereafter took the field for detailed exploration of the loess region from Rodney to its farthest point in Louisiana; the special object being to ascertain its relation to the "Coast Pliocene" or Port Hudson beds on the one hand, and to the southern equivalent of the "Yellow Loam" of Mississippi and Tennessee on the other. The general results of this exploration are briefly stated in Memoir No. 248 of the Smithsonian Contributions, p. 4, viz: That the loess material gradually changes toward that of a non-calcareous and non-fossiliferous hardpan or indurated loam, from a point about eight miles below the Louisiana line, and seems also to thin out. No detailed report or field notes of this trip are on record.

In view of the difficulties and insecurity besetting the office of State Geologist under the *regime* then existing in the State of Mississippi, in October, 1866, I accepted permanently the

chair of chemistry at the University; and Dr. Little was then, upon my recommendation, appointed State Geologist. He took the field in autumn of 1867, in order to re-explore the section of the tertiary strata afforded by the Chickasawhay river, between Enterprise and Winchester. He descended the stream in a canoe, making numerous portages over shallow stretches. The result of this re-examination was simply a confirmation of the observations previously made by myself, going by land, in 1859. Of this exploration, also, no detailed record or report is on file.

No field work was done by Dr. Little in 1868, partly because by consent of the Governor he was then acting as professor of geology and mineralogy at the University in addition to the survey work in the laboratory and collection rooms. In October, 1870, however, he definitely resigned the State geologistship for the professorship of geology and natural history in the University, and in order to prevent the survey from being either abolished or falling into the wrong hands, I again assumed its direction without additional compensation; it being understood that I should be under no obligation to take the field personally. In November, 1868, the assistantship had been most fortunately filled by the appointment of Dr. Eugene A. Smith, of Alabama, then just returned from his studies in Europe. Dr. Smith took hold of the work with his characteristic energy, although the first work in order was not of the most interesting character; namely, the farther prosecution of the analyses of soils and marls selected so as to cover as nearly as possible all parts of the State. This work was carried on by him through the year 1869 and a portion of 1870. In September of that year he took the field, with the usual outfit of a two-mule ambulance and driver. There were then two regions in the State that had not been at all satisfactorily explored: one the belt northward of the Jackson area, of which only the portions lying in Neshoba and Lauderdale counties on the eastern border of the State, and a small area in Attala county, near the Central railroad, had been somewhat minutely examined by me. This being the connecting link between the "northern lignitic" and calcareous marine stages, its examination was of special interest, but at the same time a difficult task on account of the extreme variability of its materials and fossils, and the scarcity of outcrops.

The other comparatively unknown region was the great "Yazoo Bottom," the geological exploration of which had become of especial interest in connection with the question of the age of the formation of the Gulf coast and delta; but at the same time a difficult task on account of the extreme variability of its materials and fossils and the scarcity of outcrops.

While the Bottom region was to be the chief objective point of the first expedition, Dr. Smith availed himself of the opportunity of observing a section across the older tertiary in passing from Oxford to Yazoo City via the Pontotoc, "Flatwoods," Kosciusko and Jackson.

He then descended into the Yazoo Bottom and traversed it, zigzagging from the river to the bluff from near Vicksburg to its head near Memphis. In this laborious and insalubrious trip he studied carefully both the surface features of the great alluvial plain, and the geological features of the deposits that form its substrata. A summary report of this important exploration was given by him at the Indianapolis meeting of the A. A. A. S., and was published in the volume of *Proceedings* for 1871, p. 252. The outcome of these observations is there summarily stated to have been that "the true river deposits, of any considerable thickness, are mostly confined to narrow strips of land lying on both sides of the Mississippi and of the bayous and creeks, and to ancient channels since filled up; while a large proportion of the superficial area of the bottom, including some of the most fertile lands, is derived from the clays of older formations into which these beds have been excavated." The equivalence of this older clay formation with that of the Port Hudson profile, already suggested by me, was thus fully verified.

Returning to Oxford early in December, Dr. Smith carried on the chemical work until the end of May, 1871, when he took the field again in order to trace across the State the "Siliceous Claiborne" belt, referred to. His route lay from Leake county southeastward to the Alabama line, along the northern contact of the problematic "Red Hills" and yellow sandstones with the lignitic formation; then westward again in the more southerly portion of the belt, to the border of the Yazoo Bottom (the "Mississippi bluff"). In this trip he traced the connection and established the equivalence of the ferruginous formation as a

local feature, with the sandstones of Neshoba and Newton counties; which again connect unequivocally with the characteristic "burstones" of Lauderdale.\* The beds of the Jackson group were then traced by him, down the edge of the bluff to Yazoo City and Vicksburg, forming the third complete section across the eocene observed in Mississippi.

In September, 1871, Dr. Smith resigned the assistantship to take the chair of geology and mineralogy in the University of Alabama, with which, through his efforts, the State Geologistship of that State was afterwards connected.

His successor in the assistantship of the Mississippi survey was Mr. R. H. Loughridge<sup>o</sup>, of Texas, who had for some time previously acted as my assistant in the chemical laboratory, and subsequently as instructor in general chemistry. Mr. Loughridge prosecuted the chemical work of the survey during a part of the year 1872, and was preparing for the elaboration of another report covering the work done since the publication of the report of 1860; when by an arbitrary ruling of the State Auditor of Public Accounts the survey appropriation was withheld; and thus in the autumn of 1872 the work was peremptorily stopped.

It has not been revived since, although so far as I am aware the act of 1860 has never been legally rescinded. No provision for the publication of the unpublished results has ever been made by the State; the records and collections of the survey remain in the custody of the University of Mississippi, and were left by me fully labeled as to locality and time of collection, with reference to the field notes, and to the name or designation

\* The more extended development of the ferruginous feature in northern Louisiana was afterwards observed and described by myself. *Am. Jour. Sci.*, Nov., 1869, p. 341; *Supplementary and final report of a geological reconnaissance of Louisiana*, p. 22. Also Rep. on the cotton production and agricultural features of Louisiana, in *Report of the 10th Census U. S.*, Vol. 5, pp. 112, 132.

<sup>o</sup> Mr. Loughridge subsequently received from the University of Mississippi the degree of Ph. D., and served for several years as assistant to Dr. Little in the geological survey of Georgia. Subsequently, acting under my direction as special agent of the 10th Census, he made a reconnaissance of Texas, and wrote the monographs on that State, State, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Georgia and Missouri for the report on Cotton Production. Later he served on the Geol. survey of Ky., with Prof. Proctor; and is now connected with the Agr. College of California.



under which the specimens of fossils appeared in my report of 1860.

When I took charge of the Tenth Census report on cotton production, and at my suggestion it was determined by Superintendent Walker that agricultural descriptions of the cotton States should be embodied in the report, I requested of President A. P. Stewart, of the University of Mississippi, permission to use the records of the survey in the elaboration of the report on that State. Permission was promptly given and the papers forwarded to Berkeley, California; and they were there used by me as intended, in the composition of the monograph on the agricultural features and cotton production of Mississippi, which forms part of Volume 5 of the Census reports for 1880. This paper embraces 164 quarto pages, and is accompanied by a colored map of the State; showing the several soil regions, which in this case largely coincide with the geological subdivisions as given on the map accompanying the report of 1860. While the surface features of the State are given very much in detail, the geological description is considerably condensed, into one and a quarter pages; since greater minuteness of description would have lain outside of the objects of the report. Hence, except as casually mentioned in connection with the surfaces, the geological observations made by Dr. Smith in 1870 and 1871 remain unpublished, save as regards the abstract of his observations in the Yazoo Bottom, given in the paper referred to before.

A revised edition of the report of 1860 would, without additional field work, form a pretty complete account of the geological and agricultural features of the State.

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## HISTORY OF THE APPLICATION OF SCIENCE TO INDUSTRY IN MISSISSIPPI.

By A. M. MUCKENFUSS.<sup>1</sup>

I shall present only a preliminary report at present. It is perhaps just as well that this is so; for wealth of figures do not always lend interest to the introductory portrayal of an investigation. What I have at present is based upon the literature of the subject and upon conversations with business men.

A scientific industry is one whose successful management depends upon some knowledge of the laws or facts of natural science. Manufacturing may be divided into two general sections; the purely mechanical, and the scientific, lumbering being a good example of the former and electric companies of the latter. Yet, no factory is altogether mechanical and no scientific industry is independent of mechanical skill. In the industrial life of Mississippi there is so much that is purely mechanical

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Moultrie Muckenfuss was born on Sullivan's Island, S. C., the site of Ft. Moultrie in Charleston Harbor, on the 5th of August, 1869. His father, Dr. B. A. Muckenfuss, is a prominent citizen of Charleston. His ancestry came to South Carolina long before the Revolutionary War, probably from Salzburg, Austria. His great-grandfather was the last survivor of the Revolutionary War in South Carolina. The mother of the subject of this sketch (*nee* Rosalie Stewart) also belonged to a family that served the colonies in the Revolution. His early education was received in the private schools of Charleston, Laurinburg, N. C., and Summerville, S. C. At the last place he was prepared for Wofford College, from which institution he was graduated with distinction in 1889. After teaching three years he entered Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student of chemistry and kindred subjects. He also did special work in his chosen field in the Universities of Virginia and Berlin. After filling the chair of chemistry and physics in Millsaps College at Jackson, Miss., for one year he was granted a year's leave of absence, during which time he completed his work at the Johns Hopkins University, receiving the degree of Ph. D. from that institution in 1895. His thesis was published in separate numbers of the *American Chemical Journal*, being in reality two distinct pieces of investigation. Since 1895 he has been connected with Millsaps College and has written several papers on scientific subjects, which have appeared in the *Mississippi School Journal*, the *Epworth Era*, and the *Methodist Review*. While pursuing further studies at the University of Chicago during the summer of 1897, he was appointed one of the instructors in the Chemical Laboratory there. He was married in 1897 to Margaret Galloway, of Jackson, Miss.—EDITOR.

and so little truly scientific that the investigator of this line pauses where to tread. It is indeed largely a matter of judgment to divide the factories of the State into the two classes, mechanical and scientific; for there is no sharp line of distinction. I have no dispute with any one who might prefer a stricter or a broader construction than is found in these pages.

It is needless to dilate upon the importance of science to industry. Not a factory exists but has improved by discoveries in the realm of nature while whole industries owe to the investigator their very existence. Moreover, wealth in industrial science is a wealth that is based upon the finest security, the security of technical knowledge. Any nation may soon excel in the mechanical, if energetic, but it takes time, education and experience to apply successfully the laws of matter and energy to manufacture. Processes of this character do not always need the protection of a patent; for secrecy can easily be maintained and a natural monopoly of enormous wealth producing power is the result. Of this truth the German dye industry is an impressing illustration. The poverty of our Southland is not so much due to pensions or any other governmental injustice as to the incalculable tribute that we in our ignorance pay to the scientific manufacturer of the North. Indeed, the subject that I speak of to-day, meager though the facts be upon which it must be based in Mississippi, could not in New York or Illinois be handled in less than a full volume.

Was the helplessness of the early settlers at Biloxi an omen of the future? Certain it is that they were industrially the most dependent set of creatures who ever succeeded in an attempt at colonization. Many summers passed before even garden products were raised, the sigh being continually for the delicacies of France. We may array ourselves on the one side or the other of the 20th century controversy, but since Biloxi was founded in 1699, no one can doubt that Mississippi is now upon the threshold of her third century as a white man's country. It is significant that this new era is ushered in by a renaissance of industry which is omnipresent and which inevitably must develop upon scientific lines.

The progressive little city upon our coast was once the capital of a province that extended from Montana to Alabama and from Colorado to Minnesota. Mississippi, therefore, was more

important than the rich and populous States that now dot that region. Even as a State she is older than Maine, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, or Iowa. The moss of many dreamy years has gathered upon our backs and it is high time that we were moving on.

I have not as yet learned much about the industrial life of particular localities in the early days of the State. Natchez, however, which may be taken as a fair example, possessed in ante-bellum days at least five scientific industries; a pottery, a soap factory, a cotton seed oil mill, a tannery, and an indigo pond.

The State has been wiser in one respect than others similarly situated in the South. She has been remarkably active to secure the immigration of Western people. This class as a rule are more advanced industrially than we. The period from 1880 to 1890 brought a large influx of beneficial settlers and was marked by unusual efforts to attract manufactures.

He that runs may read the cause of Mississippi's industrial backwardness. It is recorded that she had a smaller percentage of middle class whites than any other Southern State before the war. It is just this class that has been largely the basis of the South's post-bellum industry. The darkie, much though we like him, is a curse to the industrial life of his native land; the Southern gentleman of the olden time, much though we admire him and the ideals that cluster about him, was totally unfit by training and predilection for the manufactures that were to arise from the ashes of war.

We will now consider the general history of those industries in Mississippi in which scientific knowledge is more important for development than mechanical skill. In colonial days, lack of knowledge and skill made all manufactured articles very costly. In 1775 nails were \$1.00 a pound. The year 1812 records that in this territory there were 807 spindles and 1,330 looms at work, but with probably no scientific features such as bleaching or dyeing in connection therewith. The record shows only ten tanneries, and no other factory that was not merely mechanical. It is certain, however, that the indigo business was very flourishing and was the money basis of the agriculture of the early decades of this century. In 1840 there were fewer spindles (318), but Mississippi had 53 factories, and \$5,140

worth of hats were manufactured. Unfortunately this latter industry was entirely sporadic. The tanneries had increased remarkably, the number being 128, and 42 leather factories with one pottery are recorded. \$242,000 worth of machinery, \$273,000 worth of lime and brick, \$13,000 worth of ships, and 312,000 lbs. of soap were made. About 3 per cent. of the population were engaged in manufactures. It is easy to see from this that the '30's were years of rapid progress in the application of science to industry. The period 1836 to 1840 was, however, a time of such great financial distress in Mississippi that a reaction set in and 1857 does not show any marked increase in activity. The telegraph was, however, introduced about 1854. The war came on just as the people were taking anew to manufactures and industrial death ensued. In 1870 there was shown a loss of 62 per cent. on home manufactures. It was indeed an act of business foresight for the North to hold the South in the Union; for thereby, that section at one fell stroke crushed both an exclusive Southern tariff and a growing Southern competition.

The census of 1870 gives only 11 tanneries, 14 machinery manufactories, 11 factories for agricultural implements, 2 car works, and 10 textile factories. After that year the tide began to rise once more. But as far as mere number of general establishments were concerned, it must not be forgotten that there had been all along a steady increase. Thus for 1850, we find 947 manufacturing plants; for 1860, 976; for 1870, 1,731; for 1880, 1,479, and for 1890, 1,698. It is in capital invested and in the number of scientific industries that the fluctuations of the '40's and the '60's are seen.

In order to ascertain the progress since the latter decade, let us compare 1880 with 1890. There is a falling off in brick and tile companies, an increase of one cotton factory, one new foundry, 4 new oil mills, 13 additional turpentine stills and a loss of one woolen factory. The fertilizer business at this time sprang forth Minerva-like with its present size of three establishments.

In 1812 there were in Mississippi only four kinds of industries that could in any way be classed as scientific. In 1840 there were nine. We find, however, that there were only seven kinds in 1870, though 1890 records twenty-one. The great increase

of the latter date was doubtless the effect of the peoples' efforts to attract manufactures already mentioned.

Looking at the matter from the standpoint of charters granted, I find that in 1893, thirteen of them were for industries of a scientific nature. But in 1894 only eight of such charters were obtained. In 1895 the increase is marked, 20 being the number granted. Yet there were only ten in 1896 and sixteen in 1897. We find, however, twenty-eight in 1898, and twenty-seven in 1899. The remarkable progress thus shown of the past two years in this the most advanced section of manufacturing life augurs well for the immediate future of Mississippi.

In 1850 three per cent. of those engaged in occupations were in lines that were more or less dependent upon science. But in 1890 we note that the mechanical occupations have developed twice as rapidly, only 1.7 per cent. being employed in work requiring knowledge of nature. Comparing this figure with other States it is clear that Mississippi makes the poorest showing of all. Louisiana, our neighbor, has 3.6 per cent., while Illinois, a State under similar natural environment, has 17 per cent. so employed.

It may be interesting to make another comparison. Of the total number of manufacturing establishments in the State only three per cent. partake of a scientific nature, while our sister, Alabama, gives 11 per cent. and Massachusetts 13½ per cent.

As far as kinds of industries are concerned, Mississippi is no exception to the general rule in America that about one-third are businesses founded upon physical knowledge. It is the actual number of kinds and their character that our State's crude condition is brought out in strong relief. But space does not now permit a comparison of special industries here with other commonwealths; suffice it to say that there are very few kinds of strictly scientific industries, such as fertilizer, ice and electric companies, in Mississippi. This shows neither an advanced stage of modern civilization nor a secure basis for modern wealth. There are only thirty-three kinds in the State that have any scientific character, whatever, while Louisiana shows 99 and Massachusetts, 112.

There has, however, really been as great a *percentage* of general increase here as elsewhere. The value of manufactured products doubled from 1880 to 1886, while the number of fac-



tories increased 79 per cent. Mississippi has other things to be proud of. The first creamery established in the South was at Starkville. In 1860 Mississippi took the World's Prize in London for the production of wool and were it not for the curse of the canine, might yet rival Ohio in the teeming sheep upon her fair pastures.

Let us next make note of those manufacturing companies of the State that are important enough to be recorded for 1899 in the business directories. Vicksburg, as we might expect, leads the State, having 14 whose business is related to science. Meridian makes a good second with 13; Biloxi and Jackson follow with 11. Natchez and Greenville with 9; Columbus, 7; Greenwood, Water Valley and McComb City, 5. Vicksburg is also first in number of kinds, having 11, while Meridian has 9. Then follow in order Natchez, Jackson, Biloxi and Columbus. In proportion to population of 1890, Biloxi, of all the large places, easily leads the State, having one scientific industry for every 294 of its inhabitants. Greenwood, McComb City, Crystal Springs, and Water Valley are next, but far behind, averaging one for every 450 of inhabitants; Jackson, Greenwood and Columbus average one for every 600, while the larger cities, Vicksburg, Meridian and Natchez foot the list with one for every 1,000. It is thus seen that the greater the concentration of population, the greater is the preponderance of the merely mechanical occupations.

From the consideration of particular localities, the next step is to the study of the development of particular industries. We will now consider, one after the other, those that have been in this State. In a farming section like ours, one ought to commence with scientific agriculture. While it is a fact the world over that farmers as a class could have profited the most by the advance of science but have profited the least of all others, yet be it said to her credit that Mississippi is not one whit behind her sisters of the South in progress along this line. This is undoubtedly due to her wisdom in the early establishment of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, than which there is no institution more worthy of honor within her borders. In reference to agriculture in general it may be remarked that in the line of dairying, Macon and Aberdeen had in 1870 the only two cheese factories in the State. Crystal Springs opened

up the State's now prosperous truck business in 1874. When we consider the enormous area of good land that has been worn out since the war by ignorance and improvidence, it is time that we call a halt, cease laughing at science, and bespeak her aid to save the hill counties from the fate of an agricultural barrenness such as has visited the Italy and Palestine of to-day.

The cotton oil business is capable of great scientific development. Untold wealth awaits the men who have the knowledge and the aptitude to get full use of the cotton seed. Soap, butterine, fertilizers, imitation olive oil, and paint should be manufactured at the mill. The business was started in the State permanently in the '70's. Sporadic mills had existed previously. In spite of the great development of this industry it is at present largely mechanical. There are only two refineries in the State, in Jackson and Meridian, and these are not of a very advanced nature. It is still true of Mississippi, as of the rest of the South, that other regions, especially France, absorb the greater part of the profits through greater knowledge of the processes of refining. Greenville has the credit of having the largest number of oil mills, while Meridian has the largest single mill, which is also the most scientifically advanced, having a soap factory as a commendable annex.

In an agricultural commonwealth, it would seem that the manufacture of fertilizers would become a huge industry requiring trained specialists. Within our borders is much material that could well be utilized. There are, however, only three of these factories in Mississippi, two being in Jackson, and they obtain all their raw material from distant points. The first factory was organized in Jackson in 1881. The largest is in Meridian, where the manufacture of sulphuric acid is a part of the work.

Fire brick has been made in several parts of Mississippi, notably about six years ago at Harriston and at Meridian. Good fire clay abounding around Corinth may soon be utilized. There are two potteries, both on a small scale, at Holly Springs and at Biloxi. It would thus seem that our wonderful wealth of clays of all varieties, capable of making all kinds of stone ware and even vitrified brick, is now resting patiently, awaiting the coming of the man who knows.

I must not neglect to refer to an industry that was an im-

portant source of money for the early English Colonists from Mississippi to the Carolinas, of which not one vestige remains within our borders at the present time. I refer, of course, to the production of indigo. Much of this dye is now made in chemical factories, but the natural product still holds its own. The unnatural death of this interesting culture was doubtless due directly to the introduction of cotton planting and to the greater profits accruing thereto. About 80 years ago, an indigo pond near Natchez was still in use, but not the slightest trace of it can now be found.

Allow me in passing to speak briefly of several industries which are of greatest interest to our generation but in reference to which I have not obtained any very tangible data.

Cotton factories have increased from five in 1870 to nine in 1890 and woolen from five to seven. But the mill at Wesson is the only one that manufactures colored goods, the others being wholly mechanical. I am told that the dye plant at Wesson is of a very high order. Bleaching ought also to be a part of the work at every cotton mill. It is interesting to record that the cotton factory at Woodville, which was destroyed by Federal raiders, was operated by slave labor.

There are 24 turpentine stills in the State, but no attempt has been made to use the product of these for further manufacturing. It is shipped away for the pecuniary benefit of other regions.

Of course, electric lights are possessed by every town of note. There are four electric railroads in the State, Vicksburg perhaps having the finest system. Several of our electric plants furnish current for the operation of considerable factories. Of these, Jackson is said to possess the largest electric establishment.

There was once a successful glass factory at Moss Point. It may be said just here that the sands of Pearl River for such purposes rival those used by the famous Pittsburg factories.

Perhaps the oldest industry of the State requiring scientific knowledge is that of tanning. There was a time when tanneries dotted Mississippi from Tennessee to the Gulf. 128 were on record in 1840. But the greater knowledge and skill of the Yankee drove the Southerner out of this business, until now there are only four tanneries to be found in the State,

and it is said that the Indians are our only inhabitants who can compete successfully in this art. We sell hides to the North, and buy them back at six times their first cost.

One industry that has held its own since antebellum days is the foundry and machine shops. Pig iron from Alabama is the raw material, but were these mines not so near, the iron ore of Mississippi, which contains from 40 to 70% of iron, would not be neglected. There are 18 foundries at present in the State.

In March, 1880, a three ton ice factory at Jackson opened up in Mississippi a business that is strictly debtor to science. Before this, the profits from the sale of ice went to more Northern climes. Now there are about 17 factories in the State, the largest one, at Vicksburg, having a capacity of 55 tons of ice per day.

The first illuminating gas manufactured in this State was made from resin. Gas was first made in Jackson in 1857. Scientifically this business is most interesting and one regrets that electricity will eventually displace it. At present there are only two distinct gas companies in Mississippi.

We are peculiarly the State of mineral springs. It is not surprising, therefore, that we have four prosperous companies, the largest at Meridian, the oldest at Raymond.

There is only one stone quarry, that in Rankin County, which is worked on a large scale. It would astonish the average citizen to be informed of the State's wealth in quarriable rock. At least for street paving and building purposes, this should be more generally utilized. Gypsum is as common as limestone in some sections, and should be utilized for the manufacture of plaster of Paris.

It is needless to speak of the railroad shops, of which there are five in the State. The oldest built, which was also one of the oldest in the country, was at Woodville.

Natchez was the first city in Mississippi to put in sewerage which it did about 8 years ago. There are, however, only four cities sewered in the State, Jackson having the largest capital invested.

The first town to establish water-works was Columbus in 1891. In 1892 Yazoo City put in wooden pipe system, a method common to the distant West. It is fortunate that so many places in the State now possess an advantage of this kind.

The first canning factory arose at Biloxi, which city has by far the largest capital invested. This business is one of great possibilities, but it requires varied and numerous talents from its managers. Science will yet erase the word perishable as a phrase to qualify any product of Mississippi soil. Here is a rich field for the practical investigator.

Three Southern States, Maryland, South Carolina and Mississippi were pioneers in railroad building. The first was in 1828, and the West Feliciana R. R. from Woodville was incorporated only three years later. It was the third railroad built in the United States. From 1831 to '41, twenty-two railroads were incorporated, but all except seven were lost in the great panic of that period. Natchez even went as far as to build 35 miles of the "Little J" and then allowed the rails to be taken up. The Gulf and Ship Island created a great enthusiasm that was not to bear ripe fruit until two wars had been fought. Since 1870, when the mileage was only 990, the scientific industry of railroad building has developed, as is well known, very rapidly, until now the mileage is close to 3,000.

The business of manufacturing soda-water, while not very large, is founded strictly upon a scientific basis. It was opened up about 18 years ago at Vicksburg. A small bottling establishment was started in Jackson about the same time. At present Vicksburg has the largest amount of money in this line and there are 14 establishments in the State.

There has always been some sugar refining in Mississippi. It ought to be a great industry. In 1894, 388 hogsheads were made from four refineries in Pike, Amite, Perry and Marion Counties. Vinegar has been made also and ought to be the chief product of a great industry here.

It would be interesting to discuss not only how science has been and is being applied to industry in Mississippi, but also how it might be applied in the future. I might speak of our magnificent forests, and how they should be made to increase our wealth, and not be practically given away as at present. In the Delta we have the largest sweetgum forest in the world, a wood that almost rivals walnut for cabinet work. I might speak of the hidden wealth beneath the soil we till; for there is not now even a barrel of lime produced within our borders. I might speak of countless scientific industries for whose pro-

ducts there is a steadily increasing demand in the State. But what we really lack is knowledge and skill, and what we really need is to transform our A. & M. College into a great polytechnic school, to teach our young men not only scientific agriculture, not merely the textile art, but every form of mechanical and scientific industry that is possible as a business venture in Mississippi. We must follow the example of the States of the German Empire in this respect, which as a result of these polytechnical colleges established about thirty years ago, has risen from a third-rate country to be the industrial queen of the globe.

A writer in the New York "Evening Post," last November, thus describes the result of his investigation of an average Alabama country store: "I found that the stoves were cast in Memphis, the soap, of which there were from fifty to a hundred boxes piled on top of one another, were made in Nashville; the unbleached cotton was made in Anniston, Ala., and a considerable quantity of the cheap cotton dress goods came from the mills at Tuscaloosa in the same State. The heads of the nail kegs showed that their contents were made in Ashland. The rolled oats were milled and packed at Birmingham. The boots and shoes were manufactured in St. Louis, Atlanta and Nashville; the furniture in Memphis and the tinware in Memphis and Atlanta. The flour naturally came from St. Louis and the tobacco from Virginia. The clothing, of which a very large stock was carried, was manufactured in Louisville, and the brooms were made in the same city. The only articles I found bearing a Northern stamp were the sewing machines, made in Cleveland, Ohio, and the bleached cottons, which bore the imprint of Providence, Rhode Island.

Let us now contrast this prosperous condition of Alabama with the state of affairs in Mississippi as told by one of her chief citizens. Judge Robert Powell delivered the following vivid peroration last summer from one end of the State to the other: "Our average citizen gets up in the morning; puts on a pair of socks manufactured in Lynn, Mass.; puts on a pair of shoes made in Boston; puts on a suit of clothes manufactured in New Hampshire; goes to his dining room and takes a seat in a chair made in Chicago, eats from a table made in some Northern city; sweetens his coffee from Rio with sugar from

Louisiana; butters his biscuit made from Minnesota flour with Oleomargarine which came from the Lord only knows where, takes a slice of ham cured in St. Louis, takes a spoon full of rice from Louisiana or South Carolina; even the very grits upon his table are ground in some Northern mill. He goes to his stable, takes down a set of harness made in Springfield, Ill., puts it on a mule from Kentucky, and hitches it to a wagon from Chicago, and drives over to his neighbors and complains of hard times."

The foregoing quotations speak for themselves. As long as a State or section of the South depends upon the outside world for all but raw materials, so long will it remain poor, miserably poor. As long as the South remains poor, she may never again hope to cope with civilization in the heights, not merely of industrial, but even of intellectual or spiritual life. Poverty means lack of leisure, lack of freedom to pursue ones ideals, lack of opportunity to grow in mind and soul. No one can be unmindful of the national calamities that have resulted from excessive wealth, but while history shows this to be true, she teaches with unmistakable voice that the centers of higher life of the human race, in the past as in the present, have been also centers of material prosperity. May the happy day soon bless Mississippi and the whole South also, when applied science has made us industrially independent. Then only will we get from under the bondage of misery and have a sure basis for true development.

WILLIAM CHARLES COLE CLAIBORNE,  
GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY AND FIRST GOVERNOR  
OF LOUISIANA; HOW HE SOLVED AMERICA'S  
FIRST PROBLEM OF EXPANSION.

BY HENRY E. CHAMBERS.<sup>1</sup>

*(Address delivered before the Mississippi Historical Society,  
April 22, 1898.)*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The distinguished honor of appearing before the Mississippi Historical Society is one I heartily appreciate. Coming to you as I do from a sister State, I have taken for my theme one that will enable us, I hope, to stand upon a common ground of interest, for the subject of the few remarks which I have to offer is almost as closely identified with the history of this great State as it is with the history of the one from which I come.

I propose to speak to you of a typical American whose career from beginning to end exemplifies to an eminent degree

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At the St. Paul meeting of the National Educational Association he was President of the Department of Secondary Education. He served two terms as President of the Louisiana State Educational Association, and is at present President of the New Orleans Educational Association, the largest local teachers' organization in the South. He is also Vice-President of the Board of Directors of the Louisiana State Chautauqua.

Mr. Chambers is the author of the Hansell series of Histories of the U. S. and of several text-books for lower grades. He has published in various publications a large number of educational addresses and essays. He has also attained distinction as a writer of fiction, the *Youth's Companion*, of Boston, having given his name among those of the famous story-tellers who will contribute to its columns in the coming year. He is a hard and faithful worker in every educational cause, and probably no man has done more to advance the cause of public education in his State in the past twenty years.—EDITOR.



what American genius can do when given American opportunities. I shall speak of one who, though nurtured in the scant soil of western pioneer and rural life, blossomed and bore fruit and shed about him in the years of his young manhood the seeds of manly dignity, unswerving integrity, exquisite tact, polished courtesy, and exalted patriotism.

True, his name is but sparingly sprinkled upon the pages that record the achievements of American statesmanship. To no lack upon his part, however, is this due, but rather to the fact that the lines of his destiny were cast in places little known at the time to the country at large. It is from this obscurity that we who treasure his memory would rescue his fair fame and place it where it properly belongs—in the very vestibule of the Nation's temple.

In the county of Sussex, Virginia, in the year 1775, William Charles Cole Claiborne first saw the light of day. The fires of American patriotism burned about his cradle and throughout his early boyhood the thunders of the American Revolution reverberating upon distant battlefields echoed about his humble dwelling.

Born to that poverty which serves as a spur to the ambitious, he early determined to make his own way in the world. His sixteenth birthday found him in New York City, then the capital of the nation, a boy of limited knowledge and education, but of pleasing address and of good breeding so evident that the friendship of many high in authority was drawn to him. Indeed, no surer indication of potential greatness can be shown by youth than readiness to attract those who themselves are great.

Among the ones who were drawn to the young Virginian were Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State in President Washington's Cabinet, and Col. John Sevier, the great "commonwealth builder," and exponent of free government west of the Alleghenies.

From the latter Claiborne learned of the possibilities and opportunities which awaited enterprising and energetic young men in the "Territory South of the Ohio," soon to become the State of Tennessee.

Following the old pioneer's advice he set out for the western country just as he was emerging from his teens. On his way

he stopped over at Richmond, where he devoted three months to the study of law. This preparation might now seem rather hasty, but it was not wholly inadequate in those days when sustained by personal courage, keen intelligence and dignified bearing.

Speaking of him at this time, Governor Blount, of the Territory said: "He is the most remarkable man I ever met. If he lives to attain the age of fifty, nothing but prejudice can prevent him from becoming one of the most distinguished political characters of America."

Tennessee was ready for statehood about the time of Claiborne's arrival. Though but twenty-one years of age, he was elected a member of the first constitutional convention. Under this Constitution Sevier was chosen Governor, and one of the first acts of the Legislature was to elect young Claiborne to the highest office at its disposal—Judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity.

It is on record that during the short time he served on the bench he won the esteem and admiration of the bar, many of whose members afterwards attained national celebrity, and most of whom were his seniors in age and experience. His judicial career was of short duration, however, for by unanimous election he was sent to represent his State in the Nation's forum at Washington.

Now it was that Claiborne, the brilliant young Congressman from Tennessee, amply repaid the kindness and encouragement shown to Claiborne, the struggling youth, for in the Presidential controversy between Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson, when Congress was called upon to decide which of the two was to be President, Claiborne stood faithfully by Jefferson to the end, and his was one of the votes that brought victory to the "Sage of Monticello."

Young as he was, Claiborne had thus far won distinction in the judiciary and legislative departments of government. The current of his career was now to be changed to executive channels.

In what was then far to the southwest, Mississippi Territory had been organized with Winthrop Sargent as Governor. Sargent was a New Englander and a veteran of the Revolutionary War, but it is said that the rigidity and conservativeness of his

character and his unsympathetic disposition rendered him illy adapted to the duties of guiding and directing the destinies of an active young frontier commonwealth.

Many complaints reached Washington, and the Federal administration, mindful of the efforts being made by the Spanish authorities to alienate the western portion of the American Republic, decided to heed these complaints and make such a change in the governorship as would in every way be satisfactory. Unerring in his estimate of men and conditions, Jefferson selected Claiborne for the important trust. A number of Tennesseans had settled in the Territory, and these heralded the fame and ability of the newly-appointed governor.

Demonstrations of enthusiasm greeted Claiborne's arrival, and well did he fulfill the expectations that were centered in him. One of Mississippi's historians, speaking of him at this time, says: "The knightliest figure in all our history is that of Wm. C. C. Claiborne. In his character the wisdom of Oglethorpe and the benevolence of Penn were combined with the courage of other colonial heroes."

Claiborne arrived in Natchez November 23, 1801, and at once entered upon the duties of his office. Those were wild times along the lower Mississippi, for the restless elements that froth up from older communities and make their way to the frontiers, here abounded.

The valleys of the Ohio and its tributaries had rapidly filled with population. Agricultural products had neither canal nor railroad to the markets and seaports of the Atlantic seaboard; nature's route to the sea had to be followed. The long drift-voyages down the Mississippi, with the wearisome return overland, were undertaken by none but the hardy and adventurous.

The Spaniards had possession of both sides of the river below Fort Adams and only grudgingly permitted trade in western produce to be carried on in their territory or the transfer of flat-boat cargoes to sea-going vessels in their harbor and port of New Orleans. At times these privileges would be withheld altogether, and then would ensue a turning aside of the stream of western commerce to the more hospitable Mississippi Territory. Natchez soon became an important commercial center. Indeed, had not Louisiana passed into the possession of the United States when it did, there is every reason to believe that

the capital of Mississippi Territory would have outstripped the Crescent City in the race for commercial ascendancy.

The various histories of Mississippi set forth clearly the able manner in which Claiborne administered the affairs of the Territory. His stay was wholly too short to satisfy the many friends that he made, for before the lapse of two years he was entrusted with the delicate mission of representing the Federal Government in the formal ceremony of transfer by which Louisiana became a part of the United States and the jurisdiction of the national Government extended over the newly-acquired province. The people of Mississippi Territory parted with him with expressed reluctance, presenting him upon his departure with a public address of a most complimentary nature.

The event which severed Claiborne's connection with the Mississippi Territory was perhaps in its consequences and bearings upon the subsequent development of our country the greatest single event transpiring since the Union was formed. With the purchase of Louisiana was sown the seed that germinated into one of the greatest of the world's great conflicts, and the acquirement sounded the advance along the lines of that "manifest destiny," which ordained that the United States should in time extend from ocean to ocean. In the light of recent history we are called upon to note a new significance in the event.

The idea of expansion beyond the natural limits of the United States has found expression in governmental action. Republican America in deciding to legislate for distant and underrated peoples has entered the path of imperialism once blazed and trod by Republican Rome. If the chronicler of the future be called upon to analyze and trace to their origin the two ideas of American expansion and imperialism—ideas radically at variance with the will and intent of the founders of the Republic—he will find the root points of both buried in the soil of the Louisiana purchase.

The United States acquired with Louisiana something more than an increase of territory. There came with the land a people faithful to the older ties and indifferent to the newer; a people humiliated by the idea of having been sold with the soil as serfs or sheep, high tensioned with the pride of race, watchful of slight and sensitive to every semblance of disparagement.

The provisional government of the inhabitants of the acquired territory, the incorporation of an alien people into the body politic of the Federal Union, these were problems which President and Congress were called upon to solve. Could Louisianians be trusted to guard inviolately the priceless boon of civil freedom? Must there not naturally follow upon the relaxation of monarchical control a period of feverish disregard for governmental restraint? With the loosening of the bands of conservatism would these people fully appreciate what liberty under the Stars and Stripes really meant? These questions were answered in the negative, and the promise made to France in the contract of purchase, that Louisianians should be invested with all the rights of American citizenship was palpably violated.

It is a canon of wise statesmanship that free government must stand or fall as the people over which it is instituted are prepared or unprepared to receive it. But in no case can one people sit in judgment over another people and designate what privileges are to be extended, what rights withheld expecting a satisfactory result to follow. A government thus made to order by self-arrogated superiority cannot be expected to rest lightly upon those whose superiority is inferred, but whose consciousness of equality is pronounced.

So in the institution of its first territorial government, Louisiana was made a victim of that distrust which hesitates to place power in the hands of the people—a distrust which kings, aristocracies, and oligarchies have thrived upon; which sounded as a discordant note even in the Federal Convention that framed the government of our Republic, and which manifests itself to this day in limited constitutional conventions and in State Constitutions unsubmitted to the people.

Louisiana was offered up on the altar of this distrust, and strange the anomaly that the high priest should have been Thomas Jefferson, the apostle of Democracy and President of the United States, by virtue of his upholding of the people's course. Strange that he should have withheld the simplest political rights from a people of the same blood and race as those from whom he himself learned his first lessons of "liberty, equality, fraternity!"

Some of the ideas advanced in Congress when the matter of a territorial government for Louisiana was up for discussion

appear to us very curious. One phase of argument assumed that as Louisiana had been purchased it should be governed as an owner governs his estates. Dr. Eustis, member of Congress from Boston, advocated a despotic form of government. Said he: "I am one of those who believe that the principles of civil liberty cannot be suddenly engrafted upon a people accustomed to a regime of a directly opposite hue. I consider them [the Louisiana people], as standing in nearly the same relation to us as if they were a conquered country."

The act, as finally passed by Congress, embodied these views, and was, as has been stated, in flat contradiction to that clause of the purchase treaty which specified that the Louisianians "should be admitted to the enjoyment of all rights, advantages, and immunities of the people of the United States."

Commenting on this breach of faith, Henry Adams, in his *History of the United States during Jefferson's Administration*, says: "Louisiana received a government by which the people who had been solemnly promised all the rights of American citizenship, were set apart not as citizens but as subjects, lower in the political scale than the meanest tribes of Indians whose right of self-government was never questioned."

To govern a people foreign in thought to those of the rest of the Union, a people sullen with the sense of a just grievance against the authority he represented; to educate and instruct this people in the hated ways of the Anglo-Saxon and establish over them with as little friction as possible a form of government radically different from the Latin polity to which they were accustomed, these were the tasks imposed upon Claiborne when the administration at Washington sent him from Mississippi to Louisiana. Rare indeed must have been his genius and infinite his tact and patience to have succeeded as he did in softening asperities, in harmonizing discords, and in bringing a true union of sentiment and patriotism between Louisiana and the rest of the country. For thirteen years he governed Louisiana as province, territory and State, and in that time it was his privilege to see animosity die out and disapproval change to regard and esteem.

Claiborne assumed the governorship of the purchased province October 5, 1804. The next year the Territory of Orleans, with limits practically the same as those of the present site of

Louisiana, was organized and Claiborne continued as governor. One needs to investigate but little into Louisiana history to be impressed with the number and nature of the difficulties surrounding him.

American history reveals some widely divergent types and incongruous racial elements fusing to form the population of many of our American States. But no organized American colony could excel in racial variety the colony planted by France in the lower delta of the Mississippi.

To the original French and Canadian settlers and their descendants had been added from time to time Acadians, Malaga and Catalonian Spaniards, Germans, French Revolutionary and San Domingo refugees, Canary Islanders, a sprinkling of English from English West Florida, and finally several types of English-speaking Americans.

Louisiana's colonial population represent every social grade from the half-savage *coureurs-de-bois* and herdsmen hermits of the interior prairies to the counts, chevaliers, marquises and barons of the most elegant nobility of Europe. Small wonder is it that a cauldron holding such contents should sputter and boil over at times under the heat of political controversy, and that years would elapse before there would be any approach to homogeneity of community aims, efforts, interests, and desires.

Before the influx of English-speaking Americans, which set in immediately following the purchase, the trend of civilization had advanced well along certain lines of culture and refinement. Mental energies had crystallized into fixed habits of thought; social ideals beyond the comprehension or sympathy of English-speaking strangers had been formed; and aims and aspirations inherited from across the sea were motives of action. But civilization, habits, ideals, and aims were all distinctly Latin, and the coming of the Americans was, at first, to the Creoles or Louisianians as was the coming of the barbarians to ancient Rome.

The government provided for the Territory of Orleans was an improvement over that under which the acquired province of Louisiana was first administered. This change for the better was largely due to the fine impression made upon Congress by a delegation of elegant Creole gentlemen who were sent to Washington to protest against the injustice of the provisional

government. The government of Orleans Territory was made to conform more closely with that of the Northwest Territory and the Mississippi Territory.

A quickening of political thought in the Territory followed upon this bestowal of a limited form of self-government. The formation of political parties is always preceded by a difference of political thought and public opinion. This difference soon manifested itself and a division was made.

At first this difference and division was indicated by factional approval or disapproval of the acts of government; complying with or opposing the Governor's wishes to have long-standing local institutions conform to changed conditions; of hailing with satisfaction or condemning with ridicule innovations and new enterprises.

The line of division was indicated by Claiborne in his reports to President Jefferson when he refers to "ancient Louisianians" and "modern Louisianians." He could have better expressed either by the terms "natives" and "new comers," or "Creole" and "American," for the process of Americanizing had not yet begun to operate among the French speaking residents of the Territory.

The community-thought of one element was Louisiana for Louisianians; that of the other, Louisiana, an American State-to-be. The community-feeling of the one was a conservative content with conditions as they were; that of the other was a restless desire to advance whether the lines of this advance were clearly indicated or not. The community-ideal of the one was the well-being of the individual, his kinsmen, and his clan. The community-ideal of the other was social—the promotion of trade and industry along all lines of wealth-making, enterprise for the sake of enterprise.

Never was executive ability called upon to exhibit greater tact and patience; never was a community more tactfully and patiently governed. Claiborne, the masterful controller, frequently gave place to Claiborne, the instructor and counsellor. His messages to successive Legislatures are veritable tracts well designed to inculcate an admiration for American institutions, a respect for and appreciation of civil liberty, and a knowledge of Democratic principles of government.

In 1812 the Territory of Orleans became the State of Louis-



iana, and when for the first time its citizens were entrusted with the free, untrammelled use of the franchise, they unhesitatingly chose as their elected chief executive the man who for eight years had administered the affairs of the Territory with such signal success.

Under Louisiana's first Constitution no governor was eligible to a successive term. But before Claiborne's administration ended it was his happy fortune to see a wonderful transformation take place before his eyes, a consummation of his most earnest hopes and desires.

Up to January 8, 1815, the position of the native Louisianians was not one to raise them in their own estimation. First, they had virtually been bargained for, bought, and sold with their land; secondly, they had had thrust upon them the blessings of constitutional liberty. These blessings they had come to recognize, but they also recognized the fact that they themselves had done nothing to merit them. Races and nations had spent centuries of struggle to obtain that which was now theirs through no efforts of their own. It was as if a high-minded gentleman had been forced into a position of receiving alms. This may appear to be a finely-drawn distinction, but let it be remembered that the Creole "gentleman of the old school" was exquisitely sensitive to fine distinctions and keenly discriminating in all the niceties that concerned personal honor.

It was upon the battlefield of Chalmette that the change alluded to was wrought. It was there that the Creole found he could give as well as receive. In times of peace one may be indifferent to the flag that waves on high, but when one goes to the front to fight and, if need be, die for it, the bit of bunting takes on a new and an affection-compelling interest.

So when the battle was over and it was realized that the Plauchés, Villerés, and Lacostes of Louisiana had stood shoulder to shoulder with the Adairs, Coffees and Carrolls of the great West, in wringing victory from the British, exultation filled the Creole heart and his political thought became transformed. From that time he felt himself entitled to a full fellowship in the enjoyment of the privileges of American citizenship. The Stars and Stripes were his as much as they were any one's, for he, too, had fought for them. Henceforth there could be no mistrust of his patriotism to arouse his anger. The victory of

American valor over British pluck was no more marked than the subtler one which converted a people of foreign speech into thorough-going Americans. Pakenham's guns made no impression upon Jackson's breastworks, but they crumbled the Creole's past attitude towards things American.

Now indeed was Louisiana fit to govern herself in the true sense of the term. One of her own sons in the person of Jacques Villeré was called to the helm of government to succeed Claiborne.

The ordinary reader of history will see little significance in the change; but to one who looks into the soul of events the year that Claiborne's successor was elected marks a line between the older and newer order of things, between what Claiborne stood for and what Villeré represented.

Villeré was to the manor born, a native product, as it were; Claiborne was first of all an American before he was a Louisianian. Both were of families historically distinguished in colonial annals, Villeré in Louisiana, and Claiborne in Virginia and Maryland. Tradition and inheritance bound Villeré to Louisiana alone; Claiborne's whole executive career had been shaped under the auspices of the Federal Government. Villeré was in sympathy with everything that imparted individuality to the Louisiana commonwealth; Claiborne was in touch with that larger national life and his view included something other than the State whose Governor he was.

Both performed active military duty in the campaign for the defense of New Orleans. In the mind of Villeré while so engaged the idea most dominant was that he was defending home and fireside; with Claiborne, that he was contending against the foes of the United States in repelling invaders upon Louisiana's soil. Nor need these contrasts be taken to indicate that Claiborne was any less a true and patriotic son of the land of his adoption, for not the least valuable of the services rendered by him to his day and generation was the success with which he brought into closer identity the interests of both governments to which his loyalty and fidelity were due. His was the pilot hand which tactfully and skilfully guided Louisiana over the shoals of intrigue, uncertainty, doubt and unrest, and with the open sea of progress before her he relinquished the

helm to a member of the ship's own crew and prepared to return to that larger national political life whence he came.

For one of the first acts of the Legislature after Villeré's inauguration was to elect Claiborne to the United States Senate. Before the year was out, however, Villeré had the sad duty of announcing to the Legislature that its choice could not serve. Said he in his message: "On the 23d of November, Wm. Chas. Cole Claiborne, one of our best patriots, one of our citizens the most distinguished for his virtues and talents as well as for the services he had rendered his country, terminated after a long and painful illness his earthly career."

Thus passed away at the early age of forty-two a man who if destiny had not relegated to a position of national obscurity, however locally prominent it may have been, might have taken his rightful place beside Felix Grundy, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, William Loundes, Langdon Cheves and others of that brilliant coterie of young Southern statesmen whose voices were beginning to be heard when the century was young. And had he lived to serve his country in the Senate of the Nation, no abler exponent of American institutions or more eloquent expounder of American principles of government would have been found among his colleagues.

Americanism was the keynote to his character. His legislative messages while governor breathe an intensity of feeling in his frequent references to the subject of civil liberty as established by "the fathers of our country," "the illustrious founders of the Republic," etc. These messages are held together as a connected whole by a chain of adjurations to his people to conserve and perpetuate the institutions of free government. They furnish a course of specific instruction in the science of government according to American interpretation, and they point out the necessity for education, culture, and liberal-mindedness.

"The representatives of a free State," said he in his farewell message, "should consider the diffusion of knowledge as an object of primary importance. \* \* \* \* They should give publicity to the character which defines with accuracy and allots with precision the powers of the different branches of government, to the laws severally enacted, and to the various subjects which from time to time may occupy their deliberations. But

above all things care should be taken to rear their youth in the paths of virtue, science, and patriotism; that those who are to succeed to independence and self-government may know how to estimate, how to use, and how to conserve their great heritage."

These were the words of a patriot and a statesman, and now that we are soon to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the acquirement of the vast domain from which so many of our great Western States have been carved, let us who are interested in the history of our land and locality not forget to yield our tribute to the memory of the one who solved successfully America's first problem of expansion.

His solution lay along the lines of instruction, tactful care, and assimilation. And wherever his solution does not apply, wherever the United States acquire in expanding races and peoples unamenable to instruction and unblendable with us in thought, institutional ideas, and feeling, then but two courses are opened to us. One is annihilation of the inferior race, which is a leap backward into barbarism; the other is reduction of the acquired people or race to political subserviency through government by force, which is imperialism. And at the word in connection with our country a shudder must pass over any one familiar with the records of the past, for these records teach us that a free people cannot entrust their government with despotic power to govern a dependent people without having that government in time direct its strengthened and centralized power to the destruction of their own liberties. This is the lesson to be learned from the past and how to avoid such an outcome in the recent and sudden change of policy upon the part of the rulers of our Republic may well be learned from a careful study of the executive career of Wm. C. C. Claiborne.



## TRANSITION FROM SPANISH TO AMERICAN RULE IN MISSISSIPPI.

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY.

Mississippi occupies a unique position in the institutional and constitutional history of the United States. Into it were successively introduced four modern types of the two great ancient systems of government, the Roman and Teutonic. All of these epochs have contributed more or less towards determining its area, population and government. Although beginning with a system of laws and institutions that embodied all the characteristic features of Roman governments as introduced under French and Spanish control, it has developed, under British and American influences, a constitution no less Teutonic in its nature than those of the other States. This transition, though radical in its nature, was not made abruptly. French and Spanish influences were only gradually displaced to be as gradually succeeded by others more in harmony with the instincts of the inhabitants, most of whom came to be of English and American extraction.

By the treaty of San Lorenzo Spain surrendered her claim to the territory between the Mississippi and Appalachicola and north of latitude 31°. The terms of this treaty, so prejudicial to the interests of Spain, had been stubbornly refused by her for twelve years and were finally granted in 1795, only because a concurrence of unfortunate events had precipitated a diplomatic crisis in her history. His Catholic Majesty seemed to consider that the signing of the treaty under such circumstances was only a temporary expedient, the fulfillment of which he hoped eventually to be able to evade.

In order to accomplish this result, his emissaries attempted a project no less bold than a dismemberment of the United States by detaching the Western States. Having failed in this scheme, they then resorted to their historic policy of procrastination, vainly hoping that complications would arise between the United

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States and France which would enable Spain to ignore the treaty with impunity. As time was an indispensable condition upon which the fulfillment of this hope depended, it was gained by such delays as either the language of the treaty or the events of the day rendered plausible. Don Yrujo, the Spanish minister, intrigued at Philadelphia and his schemes were reinforced by Carondelet, Gayoso and a host of subordinate officials on the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup>

While these moves and counter-moves were being made upon the political chess-board, the inhabitants of the Natchez district were not indifferent spectators, but gave, at an early stage in the game, unmistakable indications of the fact that they would play an important part themselves.

In order to understand these events, they must be interpreted in the light of preceding conditions. It is necessary, therefore, to study the character of the people, their political precedence, and their party development up to this time. Owing to the frequent governmental changes that had taken place in the district, its population was of a miscellaneous character. The first important impulse towards colonization had been given at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, when this territory was in the possession of England. At that time, persecutions forced many, who were attached to the royal cause, to leave their homes in the thirteen colonies and settle in the West and the Southwest.

Then followed the Spanish conquest of West Florida, which brought into the district a large number of the subjects of his Catholic Majesty. Close after them followed a second infusion of native Americans. These, quite different in political sentiment from their predecessors, were strongly attached to Republican principles, and although borne into Spanish territory by the tide of westward immigration, they carried with them all their former antipathies for monarchical institutions. Each year increased their number until they constituted a majority of the population. Thus there were under the Spanish rule in Mississippi the beginnings of a development similar to that which

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of "Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo," see the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1897, 175-192, also the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. I., 50-66.

resulted in later years in the independence of Texas and its annexation to the Union. The principal reason why the analogy between the political development of these two States is not complete is the fact that in Mississippi it was checked in its incipency. There were, however, in this country strong symptoms of a party development parallel to that which was allowed to attain its full fruition in the far West.

After the close of the Revolution there was a shifting of party lines among the inhabitants of the Natchez district. Love of monarchical institutions was not sufficiently strong with a majority of the tory population to cause them to transfer their affections to the house of Bourbon when the district passed into the possession of Spain. So that when the contest for control of the Mississippi Valley was finally narrowed down to Spain and the United States, Teutonic instinct asserted itself and they cast their sympathies on the side of the latter.

This seems to have been the condition of public sentiment when Ellicott, the American Commissioner for running the boundary line between the United States and the Spanish possessions, arrived at Natchez. It is further substantiated by the following reliable, though spirited assertion taken from a contemporary source:

"For a long time prior to the arrival of the American Commissioner, two parties had actually existed in the country. The planters, mechanics, etc., chiefly natives of the United States, constituted the one party. A number of miscellaneous characters, including informers and a train of court sycophants, who had long been in the habit of corrupting the officers at the expense of the honest and undesigning subject, constituted the other.

"There is too great a disparity in the character and importance of these parties to admit a parallel: the one possessed all the essentials whereby we measure worth and importance in public societies—the other possessed all the arts of seduction and intrigue."

#### I. ELLICOTT, A POPULAR AGITATOR.

The arrival of Ellicott with his military escort at Natchez on February 24, 1797, was "contrary to the wishes and expectations of the Spanish authorities. Yet they resolved to delay the

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<sup>1</sup> Petition addressed to Governor Sargent, August 26, 1797, and signed by eighteen citizens, some of whom, Cato West, Narsworthy Hunter, Gerard Brandon and Thomas Green, subsequently held offices of honor and trust in the Territory and State. A copy of this petition is found in the Claiborne Collection of Historical Manuscripts at the University of Mississippi.



execution of the treaty."<sup>3</sup> Ellicott, on the other hand, determined to defeat their scheme by forcing upon them a prompt fulfillment of the treaty. He recognized, at once, the important part that public sentiment would play in determining the result of the approaching contest, and, if he has given us a correct interpretation of events, the Spanish Governor was no less awake to this fact. The disposition of the people was promptly sounded and it was ascertained that "a large majority appeared in favor of becoming citizens of the United States."<sup>4</sup> Ellicott defiantly unfurled the flag of the United States in full view of the Spanish garrison at Natchez and refused to lower it in compliance with the request of the Governor. About a fortnight later the hospitality of the Governor's home was refused by the Commissioner because he thought it was proffered in order to bring all intercourse with the people under the eye of Spanish authority. Be that fact as it may, Ellicott explicitly states for himself that he intended to make "use of the inhabitants to carry the treaty into effect, or secure the country by force, if such a measure should become necessary."<sup>5</sup>

March 22, he observed that the inhabitants of the district were greatly alarmed because the Spaniards had remounted the artillery in the fort at Natchez after having taken it down and carried it to the landing as if for shipment.<sup>6</sup> On the day following, Governor Gayoso, realizing the perturbed state of the district and forecasting the political storm that was brewing, wrote to Ellicott requesting his coöperation in suppressing "untimely expressions" on the part of "some persons" who seemed "to affect an immediate interest for the United States." In this communication the Governor makes the following significant remark:—such expressions "can only tend to disturb the tranquility of the public, of which I am solely answerable for the present."

The fact is that with a large portion of the inhabitants this interest was not 'affected.' Many of them were natives of the United States and "were solicitous for the meditated change."

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<sup>3</sup> Stoddard's *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana* (Phila., 1812), 89.

<sup>4</sup> Ellicott's *Journal* (Phila., 1803), 44.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 52-'3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 57.

They were emboldened by the arrival of the American Commissioner and when they became aware that an investigation of their 'disposition,' was being conducted under his auspices their solicitude could be no longer concealed. Stoddard, who was in this district a few years afterwards, says that the inhabitants "fully comprehended the motives, which induced the Spanish authorities to postpone the execution of the treaty and therefore became impatient. A confidence of impunity led them to associate for the purpose of accelerating the desired change, and they were in a great measure guided by the hints and insinuations of Mr. Ellicott. . . . . From these Mr. Ellicott selected what he called his "Little Council," and the members of it were not disposed to pacify the tumult among the people."<sup>7</sup>

March 24, a certain Mr. Walthers arrived in the district, direct from Philadelphia, and reported that Ellicott was "certain to be Governor of the Natchez," upon its transference to the United States.<sup>8</sup> This, of course, strengthened Ellicott's influence, and, in fact, made him the leader of those who were attached to the American cause. Whether or not he made a wise use of the power which thus came into his possession is a subject of controversy. Some maintain that he not only permitted himself to be placed in an attitude that was antagonistic to the best interests of the United States, but that in several instances he openly violated the sovereignty of Spain, while others find in his motives and the peculiar circumstances, "a complete justification of his conduct."<sup>9</sup>

On the 28th of March, Governor Gayoso issued a proclamation, bearing the date of March 29, in which he made a vague reference to the work of certain "busy and malignant minds,—evidently Ellicott and his associates—who were agitating and disturbing the tranquility of the inhabitants. He also assured the

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<sup>7</sup>Stoddard's *Sketches*, 91. The author of these sketches was a Major in the army of the United States, and took possession of Upper Louisiana in behalf of his Government in March, 1804. His book was based upon "local and other information" furnished by "respectable men" "in most of the districts" of which he wrote, together with his own extensive excursions during the five years in which he was stationed on various parts of the Lower Mississippi (*Report of the American Historical Association for 1897*, 197, footnote).

<sup>8</sup>*Manuscript Journal of Major Guion*, in the Claiborne Collection, University, Miss.

<sup>9</sup>Stoddard's *Sketches*, 90.

people that the following beneficent results would accrue from a "strict attachment to the welfare of his Majesty:" (1) "The rights of the inhabitants to their real property" would be maintained and (2) none of them should be disturbed from planting their crops "on account of their depending debts."<sup>10</sup> This was followed by a second proclamation of the same date in which the Governor expressed his gratification over the effect produced by the former one and repeated the assurances which it contained, adding that his Majesty would secure their lands to them by an additional article to the late treaty, and that negotiations were then pending to that effect.<sup>11</sup> He also stated that as it was "impossible for his Majesty to leave unprotected so many of his faithful subjects" their safety necessitated some negotiations with the Indians before surrendering the district. He assured them further, that no "violent measures" would be attempted against those who had shown their attachment to the United States and that no steps would be taken to prevent their moving from the district if they so desired.

Although this double effort to conciliate the people failed to accomplish the results intended by the Governor, it invites a passing reflection. In the first place, his Excellency, though acting with the ostensible purpose of quieting the minds of the people was really making a covert attempt to attach to the Spanish cause the owners of real estate and the debtor class,<sup>12</sup> which together constituted almost the entire citizenship of the

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<sup>10</sup> The first paragraph of this remarkable document reads as follows: "Whereas, the political situation of this country offers a large field to busy and malignant minds to agitate and disturb the tranquility of its inhabitants, it is therefore my duty, and in the continuation of that vigilance which I have constantly exerted, not only to promote the happiness of every individual of this government; but likewise to support their interest and secure their tranquility, that I now step forth to warn the public against being led by their innocent credulity, into any measure that may be productive of ill consequences, and frustrate all the advantages that they have a right to expect, and that by the present I assure to them, if they continue as they have always done with strict attachment to the welfare of his Majesty, from which will depend the following favorable events," etc. Ellicott's *Journal*, 65-67; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. II., 25.

<sup>11</sup> In commenting upon this statement, the Secretary of State, in a report to the President of the United States, bearing the date of June 10, 1797, says that "no such negotiations has existed, and \* \* \* this is the first time that these objections to the evacuation of the posts have been heard of." (*Amer. State Papers, For. Rels. II.*, 21).

<sup>12</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 67.

district. There was another fact which increased the probabilities that these proclamations would be favorably received. The treaty contained a provision for securing to the inhabitants their real estate against the adverse claims based upon British titles that had been given before the Spanish conquest of the district. To complicate matters still more, there were the Georgia claims and the sales based upon them. As the United States government had made no utterance upon this subject, it was undoubtedly a source of great concern to those who held lands against which there were adverse claims. This assurance alone from the Governor would have conciliated a less resolute people. When we add to it the disparaging reference aimed at the American Commissioner and his supporters, the concessions extended to the debtor class, the concern expressed over the probable effects of Indian hostilities and the other assurances of good-will which these proclamations contained, it seems that the people would have been thoroughly satisfied to entrust their cause to the Spaniards. But to the contrary, we are told that they were more irritated than conciliated. In other words, all the expressions of solicitude for the welfare of the inhabitants and the promises of friendly services by the Spanish authorities could not counter-balance the effect produced by the assertion of their intention to continue in possession of the district for an indefinite time.

March 30th, the day after the date of the proclamation, the American Commissioner received from "a number of respectable inhabitants of the district" an address in which they, "from considerations of personal safety and to avoid insults" from certain Spanish officials, requested that he "demand of the Governor passports, with leave for all such as would dispose of their property and avail themselves of a change of situations by withdrawing to the United States."<sup>13</sup> This was doubtless written for political effect, as we have no information that any of the petitioners availed themselves of such permission after it was granted.<sup>14</sup> Ellicott, who had probably recommended

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<sup>13</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 68-9. Ellicott says that this address was written by Mr. Narsworthy Hunter.

<sup>14</sup> Wailes very justly observes that, "in style, this address was inflated, and, it must be confessed, the enumeration of grievances exaggerated." *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Miss.*, etc. (Published by order of the Legislature of the State, 1854), 95.

the writing of the "address," then adopted a more aggressive policy, in order, as he says, to bring the Governor "to an official, unequivocal explanation for his conduct."<sup>15</sup> He wrote a letter to his Excellency with which he enclosed two paragraphs of this address and suggested that the only way to quiet the people would be to vacate the fort and to withdraw all objections to the descent of the American troops under Lieutenant Pope who had been stopped at the Walnut Hills (Vicksburg), a week previous.<sup>16</sup> The Governor wrote a spirited reply in which he stated that the inhabitants had always enjoyed the privileges sought and that they should continue to enjoy them. He also confirmed Ellicott's suspicions by making "an explicit declaration that his General had given him positive orders to suspend the evacuation of the posts until the two Governments should determine whether the works were to be left standing, or to be demolished and until, by an additional article to the treaty, the real property of the inhabitants should be secured."<sup>17</sup> The letter containing this frank avowal of the policy of the Spanish Government "was forwarded with all possible expedition. . . . to the Secretary of State."

Before this time, however, the American Commissioner says that he had declined the services of a hundred volunteers who desired to seize the fort<sup>18</sup> and had discountenanced a scheme for spiriting the Governor into the Chickasaw nation.<sup>19</sup>

A fortnight elapsed before the correspondence between the Governor and the American Commissioner was resumed. Ellicott says that during this time,

"The alarm was. . . . so great, notwithstanding the professions of the Governor, that it was with difficulty the people could be prevented from acting offensively, and that a general commotion in favour of the United States would take place in the course of a few weeks was evi-

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<sup>15</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 72.

<sup>16</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 62-4.

<sup>17</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II., 21.

<sup>18</sup> This proposition was made through a certain Mr. Green shortly after Ellicott's arrival at Natchez (Ellicott's *Journal*, 73).

<sup>19</sup> Ellicott says that this proposition was made by Anthony Hutchins (*Ib.*, 71). This statement is disputed by Col. J. F. H. Claiborne (*Miss. as a Province, Territory and State*), who was a maternal grandson of Col. Hutchins. See *An Oration on National Independence*, delivered at Port Gibson, Mississippi, July 4, 1837, by Mann Butler (Pamphlet in the Claiborne Collection).

dent; the difficulty was how to direct its effects to the advantage of our country without committing our government."<sup>20</sup>

Ellicott then proceeded to augment his forces by the apprehension of deserters from the army of the United States and the enlistment of a number of recruits, none of whom, he affirms, "could be considered subjects of his Catholic Majesty."<sup>21</sup> This turn in the tide of events called forth a remonstrance from the Governor, in which he requested that the men who had been recruited be discharged and delivered to a Spanish official commissioned for that purpose.<sup>22</sup> Ellicott replied that he would take time to investigate the matter more fully. With this reply the subject was dropped.

Three days later, April 17th, Ellicott received a letter from Lieutenant Pope, stating that he had halted at the Walnut Hills in consequence of a letter from Governor Gayoso. Ellicott made an immediate reply in which he urged the Lieutenant to come to Natchez without delay, stating that,

"Nine-tenths of the inhabitants . . . . are firmly attached to the United States; but until your arrival, have no rallying point in case of a rupture between the United States and his Catholic Majesty, which . . . . I am under the necessity of concluding cannot be very distant."<sup>23</sup>

Upon the receipt of this communication, Pope resumed his descent of the river, the Governor consenting, and reached Natchez, April 24th. When his forces landed, a military parade was executed according to a program that had been previously arranged with view to the greatest popular effect.<sup>24</sup>

Subsequent events tended to agitate the people still more. Repairs were begun on the forts at Natchez and the Walnut Hills and several new pieces of artillery were mounted at the former place. Reinforcements were also stationed at both places<sup>25</sup> and Spanish boats with troops aboard were observed to pass up the river. The suspicions that Spanish agents were tampering with the Indians in order to prejudice them against the American cause were now confirmed.<sup>26</sup> Carondelet threat-

<sup>20</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 74.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-5, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II., 26.

<sup>23</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 77. Through mistake this letter was dated April 14, which is three days before Pope's letter was received.

<sup>24</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 79-80.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 81, 83, 84.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

ened in private to give "the Americans lead and the inhabitants hemp."<sup>27</sup> Reports were also current among the inhabitants that citizens of the United States who were trading on the river had suffered indignities at certain Spanish posts.<sup>28</sup> The people saw, heard and imagined enough to keep them in a state of constant perturbation. New plans for attacking the Spaniards were devised, but they were rejected by the Commissioner and the people were admonished to act only on the defensive.<sup>29</sup> Negotiations were begun with the Choctaws in order to offset the efforts of the Spaniards who had been trying for about eight months to disaffect them towards the United States.<sup>30</sup>

On June 2d a proclamation from the Governor-General, issued at New Orleans, May 24th, was published throughout the district of Natchez, stating that the delay in the execution of the treaty was at that time occasioned only by the fear of a British invasion<sup>31</sup>, and that for this reason he thought proper to put the posts at Walnut Hills in "a respectable, but provisional state of defense." He expressed a hope that the inhabitants of Natchez would behave with their accustomed tranquillity.<sup>32</sup> This proclamation was no more successful than were those of Governor Gayoso, two months previous. In fact, he was less fortunate in assigning a reason for the delay, since his reference to England was evidently displeasing to those who still felt an attachment to that country. Furthermore, we are told that this proclamation "served to convince the inhabitants that his Catholic Majesty intended, if possible, to retain the country under one pretense or other, till the treaty should become a dead letter." The public mind became so greatly disturbed that Ellicott compares it to an inflammable gas, which needed but a spark to produce an explosion.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II., 78.

<sup>29</sup> *Ellicott's Journal*, 91.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>31</sup> This suspicion had been aroused by a French officer by the name of Collet, who had passed down the Mississippi some time before and had told the Spanish Governor at Natchez that there was a probability of a British attack upon the upper Louisiana through the great lakes. See *Collet's Journey in North America* (Paris, 1796).

<sup>32</sup> *Ellicott's Journal*, 94-5; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels.*, II., 83.

<sup>33</sup> *Ellicott's Journal*, 96.

## II.—THE OUTBREAK.

The spark was forthcoming and the explosion was produced in a very remarkable way. On June 4th, an itinerant Baptist preacher, by the name of Hanna, with the permission of the Governor, preached in Ellicott's camp to a congregation which, owing to the novelty of a public Protestant service in the district, was unusually large. Although at Ellicott's request, the preacher refrained from all political allusions, the reflections which this unusual service suggested to the minds of a Protestant congregation were by no means tranquilizing at this particular time. On the following Friday this minister engaged some Irish Catholics in a religious controversy, which was conducted with a zeal "somewhat heightened by stimulants." After this episode, Hanna threateningly made certain peremptory demands of the Governor, who became justly incensed and had him committed to a prison inside the fort and his feet placed in stocks. As the prisoner was a citizen of the United States, the inhabitants considered this proceeding of the Governor as an insult to that government. They flew to arms and the Governor with his officials and several Spanish families took refuge in the fort, where they remained about two weeks. Twenty-four hours had hardly elapsed from the beginning of the outbreak in Natchez, before active opposition to the Spanish Government had spread over the greater part of the district.<sup>24</sup>

About this time another proclamation was received from the Governor-General. To the fear of an English invasion, which had been given as an excuse for delay, was now added the suspicion of an attack from an American force which was said to be headed towards Natchez. This proclamation also stated that the menaces received from Ellicott and Pope and the probability of a rupture between the United States and France, an ally of Spain, made it necessary for the inhabitants to be on their guard to defend their property "with that valor and energy" they had always manifested. It concluded as follows:

"If the Congress of the United States have no hostile intention against these provinces, they will either leave the post of Natchez or the Walnut Hills, the only bulwarks of Lower Louisiana to stop the course of the British or give us security against the article of the treaty with Great Britain which exposes Lower Louisiana to be pillaged and de-

<sup>24</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 96-101; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels.*, II., 79, *et seq.*



stroyed down to the capital, we will then deliver up the said posts, and lay down our arms, which they have forced us to take up, by arming their militia in time of peace, and sending a considerable body of troops by round about ways to surprise us."<sup>28</sup>

The imprisonment of Hanna, together with the above proclamation, which was considered by many a *declaration of war against the United States*, led some of the inhabitants to express a determination to commence hostilities at once.

In order to divert their attention from immediate acts of hostility, without discouraging their expressions of attachment to the American cause, they were impressed with the necessity of placing themselves in an attitude to claim protection from the United States in case they were liable to be overpowered. Hence, "subscription papers were put into immediate circulation," containing "a formal declaration" that by the late treaty the people were citizens of the United States.<sup>29</sup> While this "Declaration of Independence" was being circulated, news was spreading that a meeting of the citizens would be held at the house of Mr. Belk to deliberate upon their grievances. As such a meeting would be a palpable violation of the established legal authority of the district, many of the inhabitants were apprehensive of arrest and imprisonment by the Spanish officials. In order to alleviate their fears, the following communication was issued on the evening of June 12th:

"Fellow-citizens of the district of Natchez:

"Having received information that a number of you will be collected at my friend Belt's in conformity to an indirect invitation sent to you for that purpose, I have now positively to make this declaration to you that I have made this evening to Governor Gayoso, that I will at all hazards protect the citizens of the United States from every act of hostility; I mean all such as reside north of the thirty-first degree of north latitude, or within thirty-nine miles due south of the Natchez. I now, therefore, call on you, in the most solemn manner, to come forward, assert your rights, and you may rely on my sincere corroboration to accomplish that desirable object.

"I shall expect your assistance to repel any troops or hostile parties that make an attempt to land for the purpose of reinforcing this garrison, or other purposes determined [detrimental] to the inhabitants of this country.

"Piercy S. Pope,

"Commanding U. S. Troops, Natchez."

"From the present alarming situation of this country, I fully approve

<sup>28</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 101-3; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels.*, II., 83-4. Some American troops had been sent into Tennessee to prevent encroachments upon the land owned by the Indians.

<sup>29</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 104-5; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels.*, II, 79.

of Captain Pope's letter of this date to his fellow-citizens assembled at Mr. Belt's.

"Andrew Ellicott,  
"Commissioner United States." "

Next day, Governor Gayoso wrote letters to Ellicott and Pope, stating that a number of the inhabitants, "subjects of his Majesty," were "in a state of rebellion with the hostile design" of attacking the fort, and that they were being encouraged to declare themselves citizens of the United States. He protested against such actions and desired to be informed of the part the Commissioners and Commandant themselves were taking in these transactions. In the replies of the same date, they both denied that they were parties to any attempt to attack the fort and solemnly protested, in their official capacities, "against the officers of his Catholic Majesty, landing any troops, or repairing any fortifications in the territory" of the United States. Ellicott maintained that under the Governor's own interpretation of the territorial limits assigned by the late treaty<sup>38</sup>, the people of Natchez had a right to declare themselves citizens of the United States and declared that they could not be censured for embracing "the means which will finally assure to them their happiness," and Pope expressed surprise that the Governor "should yet consider the people of the Natchez as subjects of his Catholic Majesty."<sup>39</sup>

They then issued a joint address to the people, stating that though no war then existed, the hostile preparations of the Spaniards indicated that it was not far distant. All who regarded themselves citizens of the United States were told to respect in the meantime "all description of persons and things." June 14th, Governor Gayoso, Lieutenant Pope and Mr. Ellicott met at the house of George Cochran and after "a rather angry and intemperate discussion" formulated a plan for restoring peace to the community.<sup>40</sup> On the day following Gayoso sent to Ellicott a proclamation containing most of the features of this plan and requested the assent of the American

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<sup>38</sup> *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels., II., 80*; footnote.

<sup>39</sup> Reference is here made to a letter from Gayoso, written March 12, in which he stated that the point of demarkation would be near Daniel Clark's a point several miles below Natchez.

<sup>40</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 107-9; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels., II., 84, 97.*

<sup>41</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 110.

Commissioner previous to its publication. This assent was refused because it embraced only "in part the terms..... agreed upon," and it contained "some expressions very offensive to the people."<sup>41</sup> It was published, however, throughout the district, and although it conceded everything demanded by the people, it only added fuel to the flame. "In some places, says Ellicott, "it was torn to pieces and in all treated with con-

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"In the following copy of this proclamation the italicised expressions were not contained in the terms previously agreed upon:

*"Whereas the confusion in which the country is at present involved threatens the entire destruction of its inhabitants; it is our duty to employ every means to save them from certain ruin, which will be inevitable if they do not listen to the salutary advice which the voice of humanity dictates to our constant attention to the welfare of every individual of this Government; lenity in its greatest extent accompanies the obedience that is required, and general forgiveness will be the fruit of a candid repentance, and the exact compliance with the following conditions:*

*"From the day after the publication of the present proclamation, all persons collected in bodies, or are collecting for any purpose not sanctioned by us will immediately disperse, and every individual retire to the place of his residence, attend to his farm, or other occupation, in a peaceable manner, and consider himself in the same light as before the present disturbance, never to assemble again upon the same principles as the present, nor consider themselves as bound to do it, when called upon similar purposes, whilst under the Government and laws of His Majesty.*

*"Any persons who from attachment to the Government and laws of His Majesty, and with a view to prevent the impending calamity, should have assembled in bodies, are likewise to disperse.*

*"No person shall ever be upbraided on account of his differing in opinion with any other, which, when not carried to excess, is allowed to every man, when it is not injurious to the Government, and consequently to the community in general.*

*"By so complying a general forgiveness is warranted to every person who has been concerned in the present disturbance, and no inquiry shall be made for their names.*

.....

*"To banish.....unfounded apprehensions, and.....tranquelize the minds of the people, we do hereby assure them that no war exists between His Majesty and the United States; but on the contrary the most friendly intercourse is recommended to both nations. No forces are accumulating here, and those for Nogales [Walnut Hills] are for the sole purpose of opposing an actual enemy. No Indians have been called. No interruptions have or shall be put to land or water communications; and under the present situation of this country, no corps of militia shall be formed; but if any should be wanted, out of the district, volunteers only shall be called for, except in case of an invasion, either by water or by land, within the extent of this Government; in which case natural defense and general safety admits of no exceptions.*

.....

*"Given under my hand and seal of my arms and countersigned by the Secretary of this Government.*

"Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.  
"J. Vidal, Sec."

tempt." The words "candid repentance" rendered the whole obnoxious. The people considered themselves not only citizens of the United States, but supporting a virtuous and honorable cause; and, therefore, in no need of "repentance."<sup>43</sup>

By this time it became evident that the Spanish authorities were confronted by an organized resistance on the part of the people. The subscription lists, spoken of above, had been carried throughout the district and signed by a large number of citizens<sup>44</sup>, who thus pledged themselves unreservedly to the American cause. A number of military companies had also elected officers and were ready to take the field. Still others were forming and organizing. The Governor had strengthened the fortifications and added to his forces from every available source.<sup>45</sup>

### III.—REORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

As the withdrawal of the Spanish officials to the fort left no legally authorized government in the district, it became necessary for the people themselves to assume control. It was, therefore, agreed on Friday, June 16th, that "a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the district should be held" on the following Tuesday at the home of Mr. Belk<sup>46</sup>, who lived about eight miles from Natchez. This meeting was designed to take "the business out of the hands of the people at large and commit it to a committee of their own electing."<sup>47</sup>

In the meantime, both sides continued to make active preparations. On the evening of June 17th, a Spanish and an American patrol exchanged shots, the Spaniard being the aggressor. For a number of weeks a Spanish cannon mounted on the parapet was trained upon Ellicott's tent.<sup>47</sup> Stoddard says:

"Occasions were dexterously seized to insult the Spanish authorities and to wound their pride. Lieutenant Pope repeatedly put himself at the head of his men, sounded the charge, and menaced the garrison with an escalade. One of his men, by his contrivance, eluded the vigilance of the Spanish sentinels in the night, cut a small piece of wood from the door of the magazine, and made his escape; and Lieutenant Pope,

<sup>43</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 110.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>46</sup> Ellicott gives the name, "Belt."

<sup>47</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 111; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels.*, II., 80.

<sup>48</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 111; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels.*, II., 80.

to tantalize Gayoso, immediately sent him the fruit of this successful enterprise."<sup>49</sup>

Monday morning, June 19th, the Governor, much humiliated by the recent occurrences, met Ellicott in a private interview at the house of Major Minor, and requested the Commissioner to use his influence at the meeting to be held on the day following in effecting a compromise between the two hostile parties. Ellicott replied that a plan had already been arranged<sup>50</sup>, "which would check, and finally put an end to the disturbance," but that no terms would be accepted, which "were not safe and honorable to the people." Since they had learned their strength they "would only agree to disband and return home, by being admitted to . . . . a qualified state of neutrality till the treaty . . . should be carried into effect."

Stoddard thinks that Ellicott, notwithstanding these bold words, which are to be found in his Journal, had become alarmed over the extent and progress of the opposition and resolved to check it, more to escape odium than to prevent the expulsion of the Spaniards. "He was not disposed," says Stoddard, "to ride in the whirlwind, but he had an inclination to direct the storm, and to gratify his purposes prevailed on the people to delegate their power to a committee, a body deemed more manageable, and less liable to be exacerbated by the fluctuating occurrences of the times."<sup>50</sup>

The meeting of the citizens was held at Mr. Belk's on the twentieth of June. A committee of seven gentlemen,—Anthony Hutchins, Bernard Lintot, Isaac Gaillard, William Ratliff, Cato West, Joseph Bernard and Gabriel Benoist,—was chosen, to which Pope and Ellicott were added by unanimous vote. This committee was instructed to "make arrangements with the Governor for restoring peace and tranquility; which arrangements should, as a greater security to the people, be ratified by the Governor-General, the Baron de Carondelet."<sup>51</sup>

This committee held a meeting in the town of Natchez on the evening of the 20th and addressed a note to Governor Gayoso

<sup>49</sup> Stoddard's *Sketches*, 94.

<sup>50</sup> This plan was arranged by Ellicott and Col. Anthony Hutchins. See *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels.*, II., 80.

<sup>51</sup> Stoddard's *Sketches*, 94.

<sup>52</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 112, 114. Claiborne (*Miss. as a Prov., Ter. and State*, 170) omits the name of Isaac Gaillard.

informing him of their election. To this communication his Excellency promptly replied in polite and conciliatory language, "expressing his happiness that this salutary measure" had been adopted. The day following the Governor offered the committee the use of the government house, but this was declined, its meetings being held in a new building which Mr. Ellicott was preparing to occupy.<sup>52</sup>

"After much deliberation, and several interviews with the Governor," the committee passed important recommendations, which were submitted to the Governor for his approval, June 22d. One of them reads as follows:

"To Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Brigadier in the Royal Armies, Gov. Military & Political of the Natches and its dependencies, &c., &c., &c.:

"We, the underwritten (being a committee appointed by a very respectable & numerous meeting of the inhabitants of this district) recommend to your Excell'y that the inhabitants of each district in this Government in case they should be dissatisfied with their Alcaldes shall be at liberty to assemble and nominate three men one of which your Excell'y will be pleased to put in commission.

"We also recommend it to your Excell'y as a measure necessary to quiet the minds of the people that you would please to admit that all arrests for crimes & misdemeanors do first pass through the hands of the magistrate or magistrates of the district where such crimes or misdemeanors have been committed. And that the magistrates be authorized to call assistance to apprehend men for crimes and to keep the peace of the country.

"We have the honor to be Your

Excellency's very humble Servants,

A. Hutchins,  
Bern'd Lintot,  
Isaac Gaillard,  
William Ratliff,  
Cato West,  
Joseph Bernard,  
Gabriel Benoist."

To this communication the Governor replied as follows:

"By the present I declare that whenever it shall be found necessary, the Inhabitants of each District will represent to me, through the means of one of the gentlemen members of this meeting the necessity of nominating a new Alcalde, that I will authorize the said Inhabitants to elect three of the most respectable among them, one of whom I will appoint to the Commission of Alcalde. Henceforth, the Alcaldes will take cognizance in the first instance of all misdemeanors committed within their respective jurisdiction, if necessary commit the Delinquents to Prison and when the cause is ready for sentence will consult me for the approbation thereof. In Civil cases to the amount of Fifty Dollars the Alcaldes will judge and give sentence, but the parties may appeal to me within the limited time of three days by application made to the said Alcaldes, who in such cases will transmit me the proceedings. An

<sup>52</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 114; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels.*, II., 80.

appeal may be had from my Tribunal to that of the Commander General of this Province for cases exceeding One Hundred Dollars.

"When parties agree, in due form, to an arbitration, there is no appeal and the Alcaldes will enforce the Sentence of the Judge Arbitrators.

"Given Under my Hand and the Seal of my Arms at Natches this 22nd June, 1797.

"Manuel Gayoso de Lemos." <sup>84</sup>

"Through the influence of Mr. Ellicott and Captain Pope," <sup>85</sup> the following was adopted and transmitted to his Excellency:

"Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Brigadier in the Royal Armies, Governor Military and Political of the Natchez and its Dependencies, &c.

"Natchez, June 22, 1797.

Sir:

"The following propositions being unanimously agreed to by us the underwritten (being a committee appointed by a very numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of this district) and A. Ellicott, a citizen and Commissioner of the United States, and P. S. Pope, commanding the United States troops on the Mississippi, are submitted to your excellency with a request that you may accede to transmit a copy of the same to the Baron de Carondelet and obtain his concurrence in order to restore tranquility to this district.

1st. The inhabitants of the district of Natchez, who under the belief and persuasion that they were citizens of the United States, agreeably to the late treaty, have assembled and embodied themselves, are not to be prosecuted or injured for their conduct on that account, but to stand exonerated and acquitted.

"2nd. The inhabitants of the Government aforesaid above the 31st degree of north latitude are not to be embodied as militia or called upon to aid in any military operation, except in case of an Indian invasion, or the suppression of riots during the present state of uncertainty, owing to the late treaty between the United States and His Catholic Majesty not being fully carried into effect.

"3rd. The laws of Spain, in the above district, shall be continued, and on all occasions, be executed with mildness and moderation, nor shall any of the inhabitants be transported as prisoners, out of this Government, on any pretext whatever; and, notwithstanding the operation of the law aforesaid, is hereby admitted, yet the inhabitants shall be considered to be in actual state of neutrality during the continuance of their uncertainty, as mentioned in the second proposition.

"4th. The committee aforesaid do engage to recommend it to our constituents, and to the utmost of our power endeavor to preserve the peace and promote the due execution of justice.

"We are your most obedient and humble servants,

A. Hutchins,  
Bernard Lintot,  
Isaac Gaillard,  
Cato West,  
William Ratcliff  
Gabriel Bonoist,  
Joseph Bernard." <sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Manuscripts in the Claiborne Historical Collection, University of Mississippi.

<sup>85</sup> *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels., II., 83.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ellicott's Journal, 114-'6; Amer. State Papers, For. Rels., II., 85.* Ellicott and Pope having withheld their names from this document, presented the following note to the Governor:

"We, the underwriters, do engage to co-operate with the committee

The above propositions were promptly agreed to by the Governor and were published without alterations in his Excellency's proclamation bearing the date of June 23d. This restored the peace of the community and "the Governor and his officers left the fort and returned to their houses. Thus ended this formidable tumult, without a single act of violence having been committed by the inhabitants of the country during suspension of the government and laws, for the space of two weeks!"<sup>66</sup>

In reply to the proposition which had been sent to the Governor-General, he approved of all of them, with the following exception:

"That the third article's expression: *nor shall any of the inhabitants be transported as prisoners out of this government on any pretext whatever*, is not to be extended to the Capital Crimes, in which cases only the process shall be publicly made & prosecuted in the District of Natchez with the witness and justice known to all Districts of the Spanish Gov't by order & authority of law & according to the regular course of Proceedings in such cases, and the sentence to be pronounced & Cause to be executed by the Commander Gen'l of the Province."<sup>67</sup>

These proceedings represent a political situation which is indeed remarkable, a political conglomerate in which the recommendations of the people acting "under the belief and persuasion that they were citizens of the United States" were not only submitted to Spanish executives for approval, but were answered, with a partial veto.

The first recommendations show that the popular will, which had asserted itself with the approval of the Spanish authority, was struggling to a position of equality with its rival. They also show that the Spanish Governor still retained the legislative function, the people exercising only the privilege of making recommendations through their representatives. Nevertheless the people here secured two important concessions from the Spanish government,—the power of practically choosing their

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appointed by a numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of the district of Natchez, to preserve the peace and to obtain the due execution of justice, and do hereby approve of the propositions presented Governor Gayoso by the committee, and acceded to by him." *Amer. State Papers, For. Rels., II., 86.* This was cited by the Spanish minister as proof that Ellicott and Pope were interfering in political matters (*Ib.*, 82 and 97).

For the reply of Secretary Pickering to this complaint see *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>66</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 116.

<sup>67</sup> Claiborne MSS. This reply was written on June 27. By a royal edict all capital offences were required to be tried in New Orleans (Ellicott's *Journal*, 117).



own magistrates by popular election and the right of trial before local tribunals.

The four propositions that follow were no less timely and effective. They have been well characterized as an "embryonic constitution."<sup>88</sup> The first two of these propositions corresponded to a Bill of Rights, which wisely guarded the personal liberty of the inhabitants and judiciously exempted them from oppressive military service. It not only stipulated "immunity for the past," but guaranteed protection for the future. The third article, though giving due recognition to Spanish laws and institutions, guarded against transference of legal processes beyond the limits of the district. But more significant still, this article showed that the people, through their representatives, had sat in judgment upon their legal status and declared themselves in "a state of neutrality." The fourth and last article relates to the peace of the community and to the execution of justice.

In speaking of these events, Stoddard says:

Thus the people gained a complete victory over the constituted authorities. These became pledged to obliterate all transactions of a treasonable nature; to sanction and to legalize the existence of a dangerous power within their jurisdiction, able at any moment to subvert the government; to exempt the militia from obedience, except in two specified instances, and tacitly to authorize it to obey the mandates of a rival nation, or its agents. These conditions are not destitute of point, and manifest a considerable degree of policy and skill."<sup>89</sup>

With the restoration of tranquility, says Ellicott, the work of this committee was completed, and it was dissolved "by common consent."<sup>90</sup> Stoddard maintains that the dissolution was effected by a proclamation from Gayoso at the request of Ellicott, because the latter suspected some of the members of the committee, Col. Anthony Hutchins, in particular, of entertaining views detrimental to the United States.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Goodspeed's *Historical and Biographical Memoirs of Miss., I.*, 89.

<sup>89</sup> Stoddard's *Sketches*, 95.

<sup>90</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*.

<sup>91</sup> Although Col. Anthony Hutchins' attachment to the interests of the United States at this time cannot be questioned, this suspicion seems to have been based upon the fact that he had been a British officer and was then a pensioner of Great Britain (Stoddard's *Sketches*, 95). He was so active in his defence of the inhabitants of the Natchez district against the freebooting expedition led by James Willing in 1778, that Peter Chester, Governor of West Florida, and the Council appointed him "Major in the provincial Regiment with the rank of Lieu-

## IV.—THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE.

June 24th, the day after leaving the fort, the Governor, at the request of Ellicott, issued a proclamation for the election of a Permanent Committee. This election took place about the beginning of July, and resulted in the choice of the following gentlemen: Joseph Bernard, Peter B. Bruin, Daniel Clark, Gabriel Benoist, Philander Smith, Isaac Gaillard, Roger Dixon, William Ratliff and Frederick Kimball.<sup>63</sup> The political sentiments of them all with the exception of the last, who was otherwise disqualified<sup>64</sup> "were decidedly republican," and they were "firmly attached to the government and interest of the United States." Ellicott says that "the election of this committee, as was really intended. . . . put the finishing stroke to the Spanish authority and jurisdiction in the district."<sup>65</sup> A serious blunder was made, however, in the creation of this body for the performance of a political function without defining the nature and extent of its authority or limiting the term of its legal existence.

The committee began active operations about a fortnight after its election. It was "no sooner organized," says Ellicott, "than it was evident its measures would be directed to the attainment of two objects: *First*, the securing of the country to the United States, and, *secondly*, the preservation of peace and good order in the settlement."<sup>66</sup> The point of cleavage once passed by the election of this committee, the American party was divided into two irreconcilable factions, both of which embraced men of honor and integrity, who seemed to be striving for the same final result,—the establishment of the authority of the United States in the district.

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tenant Colonel," and the House of Assembly of the province unanimously resolved, "That the thanks of the House should be presented to Lieutenant Colonel Hutchins for the extraordinary 'Zeal and indefatigable activity he showed at the Critical time when the Rebels attempted to take full possession of the Natchez district for his having been the principal means of recalling the Inhabitants to their Duty and Allegiance to His Majesty and thereby preventing that valuable Country from falling under the Subjection of the Congress.'"

\* Four of these, Isaac Gaillard, William Ratliff, Joseph Bernard and Gabriel Benoist, had served on the former committee.

\* Kimball lived south of lat. 31° (Ellicott's *Journal*, 117). He nevertheless served on this committee (see *Amer. State Papers, For. Rel.*, II., 86).

\* Ellicott's *Journal*, 117.

\* *Ibid.*, 139.

Stoddard says that the doubts entertained of Colonel Hutchins' patriotism "served to wound his pride and to excite his resentment."<sup>66</sup> It is not strange then that he should have become inimical to this new committee, since Ellicott, his avowed enemy, took the initiative in creating it, and soon afterwards began the direction of its affairs. In a letter written December 8, 1797, Daniel Clark, a member of this committee, says:

"However the two parties may differ in respect to points of Government they are all Republicans and should a spark cause an explosion the moderate party" will be forced to adopt the measures of the other to save them from the fury of the Spaniards and to avoid participating in their ruin."<sup>67</sup>

In the heat of contest the leaders of these rival factions charged their opponents with sinister motives and characterized their conduct as villainous. Different lines of policy must have been prompted more by what was considered to be best for the people than by a desire to plunge the district into anarchy. Wailes well says that these rivalries for "power and influence were but the common instincts of ambitious men wherever they may be placed."<sup>68</sup>

One would hardly be justified in characterizing Ellicott's course as either puerile or unpatriotic. He showed skill both in the conception and in the execution of many plans that he conceived for advancing the interests of the United States. If he turned his attention to subjects that were foreign to his mission, it was nothing more than the Secretary of State said was expected when he was commissioned as agent of the United States.<sup>70</sup>

On the other hand, Colonel Hutchins was held in high esteem by the inhabitants of the district. This is attested by the fact that, although a British subject, he was made chairman of the first committee, and was strongly solicited to accept a place on the Permanent Committee.<sup>71</sup> Whatever may have been his

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<sup>66</sup> Stoddard's *Sketches*, 96.

<sup>67</sup> The party of which Hutchins was leader.

<sup>68</sup> This letter was written to Daniel Coxe, of Philadelphia, and may be found among the manuscripts in the archives of the Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

<sup>69</sup> *Agriculture and Geology of Miss.* (1854), 112.

<sup>70</sup> *Amer. State Papers, For. Rel.*, II., 82.

<sup>71</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 139.

reasons for declining this honor<sup>72</sup>, he soon exhibited an active opposition to the proceedings of that body. He was not, however, without a large and respectable following, as will be shown by subsequent events.

V.—THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY AND CORRESPONDENCE.

Col. Hutchins is represented as having attended the first meeting of the committee as a spectator, but as having been "discontented with its proceedings."

Shortly afterwards, he, acting in behalf of a few citizens, addressed a petition to the newly-elected Committee, requesting that a day be designated for the election of an agent to Congress and of another committee; also making suggestions as to the method of conducting said election and the qualifications for office as well as for exercising the right of suffrage.<sup>73</sup> This

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<sup>72</sup> There were probably two reasons for this refusal: (1) His extreme age, and (2) his strong personal dislike for Ellicott, who had taken the initiative in the creation of this committee, and whose influence was disagreeably potent over its members.

<sup>73</sup> So far as the writer is informed, this petition which exists in manuscript in the Claiborne Collection, has never appeared in print, Ellicott making no mention of it. It reads as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Committee:

"We are only a few of the neutral inhabitants of the country of the Natchez, who are disposed to attend here with respect & esteem towards you, and with no less regard to our own rights & privileges. And as you were Elected to be useful in promoting peace & good order so you have the sole & entire credit of all your merits. Your circular letter we greatly approve of, as the apology therein fully atones for the supererogatory part of your well-intended conduct; and as we are willing to coincide with you in your numerous Salvas of impeaching the feeble head instead of the heart; hence, we, with a View of Salutory purposes, assure you it is our will to make known the intention of the generality of the people that we with you do name & fix upon a day whereon a man may be elected and chosen to represent us as Agent or Commissioner to address and lay before Congress (Should occasion require), such matters & things as from time to time he shall be advised & instructed by a Committee to be elected and chosen on the same prefixed day which agent and committee we wish to continue during the will & pleasure of their constituents & no longer, and that the time of such Elections be on.....day of....., and that the Polls may be opened at 10 o'clock in the morning and not closed until Sunset, to be held in each District by one of the Alcalds thereof, with the assistance of one respectable man of each District in taking the Polls and to make due returns thereof to.....and.....jointly, or to either of them separately, whom we request as a favor that they will examine each Return and add up the suffrages of each District or scrutinize such Elections, and that their or either of their controversies respecting such Elections, and that their or either of their sentiments

petition, if presented, was either ignored or refused by the Committee. A few days later Colonel Hutchins, after having been refused the assistance of the Commissioner, made an ineffectual attempt to dissolve the Permanent Committee himself.<sup>14</sup> In this connection, Ellicott makes the following significant remark, which shows the character of at least a part of the opposition to the Committee:

"In this extraordinary proceeding Mr. Hutchins was seconded by some citizens of the United States, several of whom held commissions under our government."<sup>15</sup>

August 8th, certain citizens met in Natchez to discuss the political situation. Their deliberations resulted in an extension of the plans outlined in the petition to the Permanent Committee. The second day of September was settled upon as a suitable time for the election. A. Ellicott, A. Bingaman, and John Girault were named as judges of the returns. The following were appointed to assist the Alcaldes at the polls: Andrew Beall, for St. Catherine's District; Thomas Burling, for the Second Creek Lower District; Joseph Howard, for the upper part of Second Creek, including Sandy Creek; Landon Davis, for the Homochitto District; John Collins, for the Buffaloe District;

thereon shall finally determine & settle all disputes respecting the candidates.....

"But in case the Alcald of either District should omit to attend the Election on such day at such place where the Election for a committee was lately held in each District, then in that case it is intended that such assistant shall hold the Election in each of their Districts where the Alcald should fail to attend such duty & that a return be made as above directed.....And we further recommend that the persons who are to be assistants for the several Districts shall be named and arranged as follows, viz: For St. Catherine's District.....For Second Creek District.....For the upper part of Second Creek District, including Sandy Creek..... For Homochitto District.....For Buffaloe District.....For Bayou Sarah District.....For Coles Creek District.....For Bayou Piere District..... & for the Village of Natchez....., subject to the above Regulations of the aforesaid Districts.

"And to compose the minds of the people and to free them from further contests we recommend that no Alcald as being a Spanish Officer may be a member of such committee nor shall an assistant at the Election in taking the Poll stand a Candidate.

"That no person shall vote at such Election but inhabitants only of not less than Twenty-one years of age, who have lived in this country at least six months; is really settled within the District where he offers his vote which he will declare on Oath if required at the time of voting before his vote shall be admitted."

<sup>14</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 140-1.

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.*, 141.

Elisha Hunter, for the Bayou Sara District; Charles Bordman, for the Pine Ridge and Fair Child's Creek District; Parker Carodine, for Villa Gayoso; John Burnet, for the Bayou Pierre and Big Black District, and David Ferguson, for the town of Natchez. The Alcaldes and the assistants at the polls were declared disqualified to become candidates, because of their connection with the election.<sup>76</sup> The right of suffrage was restricted to residents of the respective districts, eighteen years of age.<sup>77</sup>

Colonel Hutchins was appointed to communicate these plans to Captain Minor, who was then temporary Governor of the Natchez<sup>78</sup>, and request his approval of the same.

This was done on the day following.<sup>79</sup> A week later, August

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<sup>76</sup> In the petition to the Permanent Committee the Alcaldes were declared disqualified because of their connection with the Spanish government as well as their connection with the election.

<sup>77</sup> In the petition to the Permanent Committee the right of suffrage was to be restricted to those who had resided in the district six months, and were twenty-one years of age.

<sup>78</sup> The Baron de Carondelet had been promoted to the government of Quito and Governor Gayoso succeeded him as Governor-General of Louisiana, with headquarters at New Orleans. July 30th, Governor Gayoso departed for that place, leaving Captain Minor to represent him in the government of the Natchez until the vacancy could be filled by royal appointment. *Ellicott's Journal*, 140.

<sup>79</sup> This communication to Captain Minor is found in the Claiborne Collection. It begins as follows:

"Forasmuch as the country of the Natchez is under a state of neutrality and as matters of contest are not firmly settled between Spain and the United States of America respecting the fulfilment of the Treaty subsisting between those Powers, and as the minds of the people in general are well disposed and greatly composed in respect to matters of government from an aversion to anarchy and a submission to the presiding authority and the prevailing Laws that are now executed with mildness, hence the dread of a failure of justice is removed and the peace of the Country preserved. Yet from conception amounting to a firm belief that such Treaty will be carried into effect, and that there is more than a probability that the United States will avail themselves of the Claim or Dominion to the 31st Degree of N° Latitude, under which consideration we conceive it expedient to appoint a Man of some abilities with the appellation of Agent to address Congress on important occasions, and that there may be a Committee of Safety who may correspond with such Agent and from time to time to communicate to him the sense and will of the People, and such matters having appeared to the worthy Inhabitants an act of duty and from your knowledge of our various applications for your assent thereto and from the attendance of a number of the inhabitants yesterday from different parts of the Country to plead for that permission. — And we presume that the then altercation and discussion hath greatly explained the reasonableness of our requisition. And as the people of necessity have returned home I am left by them to attend you for your approbation for such Elections."

16th, Captain Minor made a favorable reply, in accordance, says Ellicott, with instructions previously given by Governor Gayoso, "who expected by dividing the inhabitants, to regain the power he had so lately lost."<sup>80</sup>

August 18th, Colonel Hutchins wrote an address to the "Planters, Mechanics & laborers" of the district, informing them that the Spanish authorities had granted the request he had presented in behalf of the inhabitants lately assembled. He directed attention to the fact that the method of voting in the United States was "by ticket and ballot," and stated that the proposed Committee was not intended to interfere with the Permanent Committee, which he claimed "was intended only to promote the peace of the Country." After questioning the "constitutionality" of the method by which the Permanent Committee was elected, he closed with a plea for a continued neutrality and for the election of an agent and a new committee.<sup>81</sup>

The election was opposed, however, by Ellicott and Pope, seconded by certain inhabitants, who feared that it would "divide the people between the two committees," and thus prove detrimental to the American cause.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately the proceedings of the Permanent Committee at this time are not accessible to the writer. Ellicott tells us that in the beginning of September he laid before that body a communication received from the Secretary of State concerning the detection of Blount's plans for conquering Louisiana and the Floridas for Great Britain<sup>83</sup>, to arrest which immediate action was taken. There is also ample evidence to show that the Committee was very active in its opposition to the movement headed by Colonel Hutch-

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<sup>80</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 139.

<sup>81</sup> This address may be found in the Claiborne Collection.

<sup>82</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 141; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rel.*, II., 81-2.

<sup>83</sup> Blount's scheme was to be effected in the autumn of 1797 by means of forces from Canada, which were to descend the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers, and to be joined by volunteers along the route to New Orleans, which place they hoped to capture with ease, since it was in no condition to offer resistance. In order to perfect this project Blount made advances to the British envoy at Washington, but was referred to the British cabinet. "Obliged to deliver his plans and memoirs to an intermediate agent," suspicion was aroused and the packet containing his memoirs were intercepted by the captain of the vessel in which the messenger was to embark and were sent to President Adams, who submitted them to Congress. Blount was tried for unofficial conduct by the Senate, of which he was a member, and expelled from that body, by a vote, not of two-thirds only, as the Constitution requires, but unanimously." (Marbois' *Hist. of Louisiana*, 163-5).

inc. The following letter, addressed to the Electors, serves to illustrate the bitterness that existed between these two parties:

"August 29, 1797.

"Gentlemen:

"As your eyes are open to see the rascality of the whole opposition against your common privileges, I need not be at the pains to say anything about it for the infamous letter from Cochran to Bruin<sup>4</sup> is a sufficient explanation. After this you'll think that the name of Gentlemen may be left out. This will, I suppose, convince you of the principles they & the whole connection have acted upon which most certainly merits contempt.——

"I have only to acquaint you that they have entered a protest against your Election<sup>5</sup> Which I hope you will not pay the least regard to, as it is intended as a matter of evasion, for if you do they will soon pro[t]est away your property, your privileges and your lives also. Look upon yourselves as freemen, altho' this is the time for them the date of your slavery and should you be insulted by any pretenses that may offer against your common rights, you ought with spirit to act accordingly, as they should not be suffered to interrupt your Election in the smallest degree. I need not tell you what kind of treatment the invaders of your privileges may deserve.

Gen.

your Affectionate

A. Hutchins."

P. S.—The Committee at the Natchez yesterday has made Resolves<sup>6</sup>, and has behaved in several respects Tyrant like even to restrain people from speaking, after permission given they expect to establish their plans through Mr. Ellicott, who will get no credit for joining an intended faction. You will have to join unanimously in signing the paper respecting the Committee<sup>7</sup> or they will probably establish their infernal plans, then you have nothing to do but to submit to their high mightiness.<sup>8</sup>

On the morning of the election Lieutenant Pope sent vaguely worded communications to the managers of the polls on the Homochitto precinct<sup>9</sup>, stating that opposition to the Permanent Committee would not be permitted. The opposition to the

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<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately this communication is not accessible to the writer.

<sup>5</sup> The basis for this protest is largely a matter of conjecture to the writer, as he has not been able to find a copy of it. We may reasonably infer, however, that it was similar in nature to those made by six of the voting precincts on the day of election. See *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> It is hoped that future research will bring a copy of these resolutions to light.

<sup>7</sup> The contents of this paper are unknown to the writer at present.

<sup>8</sup> A copy of this letter, which is now printed for the first time, may be found in the Claiborne Collection.

<sup>9</sup> The names of these gentlemen were Landon Davis and Captain Nicholson. The writer finds no authority for Claiborne's (*Miss. as a Prov., Ter. and State*, 174), assertion that similar letters were written to each of the supervisors of the polls. Hutchins complained of letters being written, one of which was addressed to Davis and Nicholson. See *infra*.



election was effective, since the polls were opened in only four out of the ten precincts, the remaining six, says Ellicott, protesting against such procedure.<sup>90</sup> The returns from these four precincts were sent to Colonel Hutchins sealed up. They were referred by him to the judges of the election, who refused to act, and then to Captain Minor, who did likewise.<sup>91</sup>

September 5th, the gentlemen chosen in the precincts where elections were held, Thomas Green, James Stuart, Mr. Ashley and a Mr. Hoggett, together with Colonel Hutchins, met at the home of Mr. Belk and effected an organization.<sup>92</sup> On the day following, Colonel Hutchins addressed a letter to Lieutenant Pope, charging him with having interfered in the recent election.<sup>93</sup> By means which were rather questionable, the Committee was subsequently increased by the addition of Landon Davis<sup>94</sup>, Justice King and Abner Green.<sup>95</sup> As no agent was

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<sup>90</sup> Among the reasons assigned in the protests against this proposed election were these: 'Because,' say the protesters, 'we dread the effect of such a precedent, which appears to us to involve the seeds of anarchy, and an open contempt of the authority invested in the Committee, our only legal representatives.' 'Because, by the mode of election, not less than thirty of our most intelligent and respectable citizens are rendered incompetent to serve either as the said agent, or in the Committee.' 'Because it is calculated to introduce a direct innovation in the principles of election, by admitting to the privilege of voting, persons of the age of eighteen.' And 'because neither the powers of the agent nor committee are properly defined.'—Report of the Secretary of State, based upon information from Ellicott (*Amer. State Papers, For. Rels., II., 82*).

<sup>91</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 141.

<sup>92</sup> *Ib.*, 141-2.

Sept. 6th, 1797.

<sup>93</sup> "Sir:

"As one of the Inhabitants of this County I take the liberty to acquaint you we had a permission from Gov. Gayoso to Elect a Committee & an Agent for purpose of presenting memorials to Congress, and that Elections were satisfactorily held on Saturday last in several Districts where the artful faction could not prevail. I am sorry to tell you that by your Letters of interference to Mr. Davis & Captain Nicholson they were awed and discouraged from holding such necessary election in the Homochitto District greatly to the dissatisfaction of the people, perhaps you may have acted as prudently in that regard as you did formerly before the past insurrection. I am persuaded you think you have pursued measures consistent with your duty, but I can't be of such opinion until I am convinced by Capt. Gayoso, to whom the inhabitants wish to write on the subject. This I am induced to communicate to you only from my profession of friendship for you.

"with great esteem

Your Obedt

"Dr. Sir

H'ble Servt A. H."

<sup>94</sup> He was elected in the Homochitto precinct, September 9th, "by ten voices," no return being made of the election. (Ellicott's *Journal*, 143; *Amer. State Papers, For. Rel., II., 82*).

<sup>95</sup> The week following Davis' election, King and Green were elected

elected by the people, Colonel Hutchins was chosen by the new Committee to act in that capacity.<sup>96</sup>

About this time the hostility between the two factions seems to have reached its most critical stage. September 12th, a report reached Natchez that, owing to their opposition to the Permanent Committee, about forty armed men were on their way to that place from the Bayou Pierre, and that the inhabitants of Coles Creek were threatening to do likewise. This demonstration was not followed, however, by any act of violence.<sup>97</sup>

#### VI.—COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

September 13th, the Permanent Committee requested Ellicott to represent to the President of the United States the situation of the Country and to recommend all the measures that were deemed conducive to the future welfare of the country in case of its annexation to the United States. In response to this request, Ellicott prepared a memorial which was approved by the Permanent Committee and forwarded to the Department of State, without being submitted to the people. September 16th Captain Minor issued, under the seal of the Spanish government the following declaration:

"The Permanent Committee, duly elected by the people at large, under the sanction of Government, are the true and sole representatives of the inhabitants of this Government, and.....faith is due their proceedings as such, as also to the representations they may make in behalf of the public in all cases."<sup>98</sup>

This shows that a remarkable change had taken place in the attitude of Ellicott and his followers towards the Spanish authorities. The following extract from a communication ad-

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"by subscription: the number of signers did not exceed thirty" (*Ib.*). It will be observed in this connection that Mr. Davis was disqualified from holding office, since he has been appointed a manager of the election in the Homochitto district (see Hutchins' letter to Capt. Minor). The other two members were not chosen by the method (ballot), nor were any of them elected at the time (Sept. 2d), specified by Colonel Hutchins, and agreed to by Capt. Minor.

Claiborne (*Miss. as a Prov., Ter. and State*, 175), gives the names of two other members of this Committee, Daniel Burnet and Dr. John Shaw.

<sup>96</sup> See letter addressed by Hutchins to this Committee in Claiborne Collection, Vol. E.

<sup>97</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 148-50.

<sup>98</sup> *Amer. State Papers, For. Rel.*, II., 86.

dressed to Governor Sargent, August 26, 1799, and signed by eighteen citizens of the district, shows how many of the inhabitants regarded Ellicott:

"Happy had it been for this country, had the commissioner with all his apparatus, been able to penetrate and repel the nefarious designs which were laid to embroil him with the people, and the people with one another. But for want of a manly confidence in his own internal resources, or for want of personal courage and integrity, he fell into the snare; and under a pretext that the people were doing wrong, he makes a voluntary sacrifice of all his natural connexions (including every officer of the United States then in the Country), and threw himself under the patronage and protection of Don Minor and his satellites, and became a principal and active instrument in that system of tumult, which has been so abundantly productive in this country.

"After deserting and betraying the people, and as we conceive, abandoning the best interests of the United States, we are to view him from this time under an implicit submission to foreign intrigue, nor can art or deception convince the people of this country to the contrary."

After a session of three weeks, the newly-elected committee, known as the <sup>100</sup> "Committee of Safety and Correspondence," in coöperation with Colonel Hutchins, prepared a Petition and Memorial to Congress. On account of the threats of the other faction, this instrument was secretly circulated throughout the district in order to obtain the signatures of the inhabitants. Before this could be effected, however, a copy of it was secured by Ellicott<sup>101</sup> and forwarded to the Secretary of State with observations on the same.

After one or two efforts, by the members of the opposing faction, to destroy this memorial or at least to hinder its transmission to the seat of government, Mr. Stuart, a member of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence finally evaded their vigilance and delivered it with several other papers to the Secretary of State.

Among these papers was a letter from Colonel Hutchins to the Secretary of State, in which he said, ill health prevented his presenting the memorial in person. The people desired Congress to plan all matters "in the most favorable way to suit the situation" for they were "likely to be in a very disagreeable condition" owing to the presence of about ten or twelve dangerous

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\* A copy of this Petition, printed by the authority of Congress, may be found in a pamphlet in the Claiborne Collection. It was signed by Cato West, W. Hunter, Thomas M. Green, Gerard Brandon and others.

<sup>100</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 143.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

men who had "imposed on the country in general," and especially upon Mr. Ellicott, who had joined "with them in their notorious and most horrid faction, and as it were, in certain intrigues—against the true interest of the people." Among these men "are a few such as Dan Clark, Esq., who declares against becoming citizens of the United States at all and recommends the same to his friends as shown by certain paragraphs of his letters to me that I take the liberty to send. . . . . And A Mr. Wm. Dunbar, who has become a man of fortune, said to be ground out of the faces of the suffering inhabitants, & very famous in the Land scheming way<sup>102</sup>. . . . Such are Mr. Ellicott's connections, together with the oppressors & evador of the Law respecting Debts & resettlements which create pain in every judicious inhabitant. The sufferers only look for a time when Congress shall put it in their power to avail themselves of justice. Yet Mr. Ellicott's opposition to the Country by connecting himself with those of that sort appears. . . . to be so exceeding great that without the interposition of Congress they must be miserable." He adds that he "would to God that it had been so ordered" that Ellicott "had never concerned with anything here but the Latitude & Line, and such matters as are of that concern." There are, he continues, numerous schemes & daily inventions to create a greater 'wideness' between the people and to ruin the reputation of the writer of this letter. He represents the people as praying that "some temporary mode of government be adopted to suit the local situation," and that "all the officers of the Government except the judges. . . . be chosen or approved by the people;" and he most humbly begs for them that no judge be appointed who is interested in either the Georgia or the British land claims. Should it be thought most expedient to appoint and send a Governor to them "which they hoped would not be the case, it is their wish that he may be free from partial motives" on the land question.

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<sup>102</sup>The injustice of this accusation will be apparent to any one who makes an impartial study of the life of Sir Wm. Dunbar. The intimate friendship which sprang up between Dunbar and Ellicott was due to the fact that they were among the foremost scientists of this country at that time and devotion to a common cause made them congenial. See an article by the writer in the *Publication of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. II., 85-111, entitled, "Sir William Dunbar, the Pioneer Scientist of Mississippi."

"Above all, before any shall enter into the execution of his office that such officers of whatever denomination above that of a constable shall take an oath similar to that which is required in like cases in the State of Pennsylvania, for. . . . among too many of those who Mr. Ellicott would wish to be the leading characters," are infidels who speak "against the virtue & divinity of our Lord & Savior Jesus Christ." He says that Ellicott's "removal would be exceeding agreeable to the most judicious inhabitants," and charges him with causing the delay in the evacuation of the posts by the Spaniards, who had found him "a proper plaything suited to the theme of evasion."<sup>108</sup> He also charges Ellicott and Pope with bringing the American cause into disrepute and complains that when he had warned Ellicott against certain men who were opposed to the interests of the United States, the latter had betrayed confidence and these men had fallen upon the informer "pallmall and part of them being a Committee for peace and Coöperation with the Spanish Government assumed an authority to make Resolves as soon as they had convened that Honorable Board, as they called it, who to form their tribunal more respectable added thereto Minor, Govr. pro tem., of the Natchez, &c., Jo. Vidal, Secy. of the Province; Wm. Dunbar, Esq., Surveyor, & the consequential George Cochran, A. Ellicott, agt., & whose business of course was then to work up something. . . . to degrade" the writer. He then enumerates, without comments, five charges that have been preferred against him by the different members of the opposing faction. He states that efforts were being made to destroy the memorial he had written and to intimidate those who were inclined to sign it by telling them that "soldiers with handscrews were on their way from Orleans thither to confine the Annabaptists," and by threatening to represent the people as disaffected towards the Union, etc. He says that it is reported that two gentlemen by the name of Gov. Matthews and Judge Miller, agents of the Georgia Company, who have recently arrived, will be appointed Governor and Judge re-

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<sup>108</sup> Claiborne's view on Ellicott (*Miss. as a Prov., Ter. and State*, 176), at which historians have frequently expressed surprise (Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, IV, 211, foot note; Hinsdale in *Report of Amer. Histor. Association for 1893*, 366, foot note, etc.), were doubtless derived from the letters of Colonel Hutchins, his grandfather.

spectively of the Territory of Mississippi. This, he adds, is a cause of great alarm because they have "fallen in with those Very persons of the faction conversing chiefly with them & having their minds perverted by unfair representations..... hath been prevailed upon (as is said), to write Letters in their favor....agt. the interests of the community by which impolitic procedure they have prejudiced the minds of the greatest part of the most respectable inhabitants against them whose jealousy cannot be removed, nor....can they ever retain even a tolerable opinion of them." He then presents the importance of establishing an academy "for improvement in the Liberal arts & sciences" and endowing the same by a congressional grant of land on the waters of the Yazoo, when such territory shall have been purchased from the Indians.

In order to counteract the effects of this letter upon the President, the Permanent Committee drew up an address, exonerating Ellicott and Pope and thanking them for their services; and this was forwarded to the Secretary of State.<sup>104</sup>

The following extracts from these two documents, arranged in parallel columns, according to subject matter, will enable the reader to judge of the points of difference in the policy advocated by each:

Memorial of the  
Committee of  
Safety and Correspondence.<sup>105</sup>

Memorial<sup>106</sup> of the  
Permanent Committee.<sup>107</sup>

#### I.—Government.

<p>"Your Memorialists look up to Congress for the establishment in due time of some consistent mode of Government, that may suit the situation of this Country as the number of white persons who are Zealously attached to the cause and Interest of the United States are about Five thousand,</p>	<p>"A territorial government similar to that of the North Western Territory, is less expensive, and better calculated than a representative one, for doing justice in a district populated from causes above mentioned [for an increase of fame and fortune; to avoid creditors; to escape from persecu-</p>
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<sup>104</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 158-160.

<sup>105</sup> The manuscript copy of this instrument from which the above is taken may be found in the archives of the Secretary of State at Washington. It was written by Col. Hutchins and contains the signatures of four hundred and twenty-five persons, two of whom signed all of it with the exceptions of the reflections upon the conduct of Ellicott and Pope.

<sup>106</sup> These extracts are taken from Ellicott's *Journal* (151 et seq.), which contains an account based upon the original notes from which the memorial was written.

<sup>107</sup> As both papers contain several references to the government of the North-west Territory, the following facts should be remembered in this connection: The ordinance under which this territory was organized

and about half that number of Negroes.....this more compact Country may admit of different regulations [from those adopted for the government of the North-west Territory] for it is better conceived that a nearer similarity to North Carolina, South Carolina or the State of Tennessee would be a more consistent Model. And although the General Laws of several of the States would be salutary here. Yet from the situation of this country certain Local laws & Rules would be necessary which could not be formed by any but such as have a perfect knowledge and acquaintance with this place and the various circumstances that attend it and so very remote from every State, will require some such expedient under a Governor that the majority of the people shall wish to recommend, that will tend to compose the minds and free them greatly from suspicions of Imposition and other Jealousies that their new change of Government may expose them to. And that in all things it may be so arranged and understood that the People as true Republicans may by a majority of votes consistently take the lead under Congress and, as it were, be in that way the very nerves and Sinews of the Presiding Authority, at least as far as consistent, that they may avoid the dangers of Imprudent, overbearing persons that may through Influence or art push themselves into power and unhappily preside over us also in matters of police and summary proceedings on many occasions which Congress will please to discern as Guardians to the rights liberties and happiness of those who are like to become their Remote citizens."

tion for monarchical principles or treasonable practices during the Revolutionary War], and where the habits of the people have in part been formed under a despotism, and by whom the principles of representative government must be but imperfectly understood, and the free white population supposed not to exceed five or six thousand souls. The Governor, in conjunction with the judges, being competent to the selection and adoption of laws for the district, from the codes of the different States (comprised in the Union), and those laws thus adopted, being again subject to the approbation of Congress is as great a change from despotism towards representative government, as ought suddenly to be made in the situation of any people (however enlightened), until their habits, circumstances and morals become more congenial to the true principles of liberty; otherwise there will be great danger of falling into licentiousness, which is the natural extreme."

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provided for the appointment by Congress of a Governor and three judges, who were authorized to adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States.....as may be necessary.....and report them to Congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress." It stipulated that under certain conditions a general assembly should be organized with authority to regulate "the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers," "to elect a delegate to congress" and to make laws not repugnant to the principles of the ordinance. It also forbade slavery in the territory.

## II.—Slavery.

"As the Culture and produce of this Country is chiefly cotton and Indigo, which cannot be carried On to advantage without the use of Slaves, would under the System Recommended to Congress by the President no way co-incident with the circumstances of the people here; as Slaves are not admitted in the Territory lying North West of the Ohio."

"Although domestic slavery is extremely disagreeable to the inhabitants of the eastern states, it will nevertheless be expedient to tolerate it in the district of Natchez, where that species of property is very common, and let it remain on the same footing as in the southern states, otherwise emigrants possessed of that kind of property would be induced to settle in the Spanish territory."<sup>108</sup>

## III.—Unoccupied Land.

"The supplication of your Memorialists under their neutrality also is that all the ungranted lands belonging to the Government of the Natchez bounded by the Indian Line South of the Yazou, when it shall be in the possession of the United States, that if consistent, it may be freely given to Families and to Individuals; And granted without purchase in Small Tracts to such Families or persons, who have not heretofore had Lands Granted to them, and to emigrants in the way of Family rights, and in the proportion of Two hundred acres to the head of each family whether male or female, and fifty acres for each of their Wives and Children, and in no larger proportion. And that it shall be tenanted, Cultivated and Improved within one Year from the date of such Grant.

"The manner of disposing of the vacant land is a subject in which the inhabitants are materially interested. The mode heretofore pursued by the United States, would neither give satisfaction to the present inhabitants nor in my opinion be good policy, setting aside the advantages it gives the wealthy, in a monopoly the most dangerous of any other to the liberties of the people. By disposing of the vacant land in small tracts, and at a moderate price, the preference given to actual settlers, a firm, compact settlement would speedily be formed, which from its local situation, would be very advantageous to the United States in case of war with Spain; another reason for this practice is, the danger of losing a number of our citizens, who would be induced to settle in the Spanish territory, where lands are obtained in any quantity (great or small), upon very easy and advantageous terms,"<sup>109</sup>

## IV.—Land Titles.

"Congress will please to extend a thought to this region and confirm the Spanish Grants, that were issued previous to the Ratification of the Treaty and other legal

"It appears that much the greater part of the lands now occupied are covered by old British grants. The occupiers of those lands may be divided into two classes. First.

<sup>108</sup> Hutchins assertion that Ellicott had not only recommended the abolition of slavery in the district, but "represented it to be the wish of the inhabitants," was probably based upon rumor, the memorial of the Permanent Committee not being accessible to him.

<sup>109</sup> The above reason probably explains further Hutchins' accusation that Ellicott had recommended "the disposing of the vacant land in large tracts only."



Claims by possession or Improvement; and to exclude all other Titles to such Lands. Claimed by persons beyond Sea or of any Country or State whatsoever who hath failed to pursue measures that were common and prudent by Cultivation or other consistent mode to Secure the Same. And that such Spanish Claims may be declared of full force and effect notwithstanding the Colour of Authority of British Grants for the same land.....

"Your Memorialists with great humility and with no less regret, beg leave to communicate that more than nine-tenths of the Inhabitants, and almost all of the rest, are settled on lands formerly Granted to British Subjects, whereon but few settlements had ever been made, which after the conquest of this country by Spain it hath been granted to the present Possessors, which they have greatly improved and Cultivated. And were it possible that such Spanish Grants should not be confirmed what besides their Ruin may be the Consequence will be a new matter of Consideration under the Wretched Situation, believing that their Grants were perfectly good under Spain, and with the same parity of Reason, flatter themselves that they will be confirmed under the United States."

Those who continued in the country after its conquest by the Spaniards, and renewed their titles under his Catholic Majesty, and *secondly*, those who are seated on old British grants, which became forfeited to the crown of Spain by their owners or attornies, not appearing, and occupying them agreeably to the tenor of two proclamations or edicts, issued by his Catholic Majesty..... The lands thus forfeited have been granted by the officers of his Catholic Majesty, in the same manner as practiced in granting vacant lands. This class of settlers may be considered as composing the body of the settlement. With respect to the *first* class, there cannot possibly be any doubt as to the validity of their titles; and the *second*, upon the principles of justice and equity, are perhaps equally safe; but they have their fears, and are therefore desirous that an act of congress may be passed confirming all their titles, that were good under the crown of Spain at the time of the final ratification of the late treaty."

The writer fails to find any justification of the following extravagant language used by Colonel Claiborne in writing about the Memorial prepared by his grandfather:

"In tracing the history of the district, soon to become a Territory, it will be seen that the truly republican and conservative measures recommended in that memorial were all in due time adopted, and have shaped and colored the policy of the Territory and the State."<sup>110</sup>

A careful and impartial comparison of the two documents will show that they differ very slightly in their recommendations upon the four questions which were of vital importance to the people, and that the above remark would apply with equal, if not with greater force to the Memorial of the Permanent Committee. The fact is, Ellicott had greatly the advantage of Colonel Hutch-

<sup>110</sup> *Miss. as a Prov., Ter. and State*, 176.

ins, his antagonist, in literary ability and in official prestige, as well as in having an intimate personal acquaintance with many of the officials at the seat of government.

## VII.—CULMINATION OF FACTIONAL DIFFERENCES.

The condition of public sentiment about this time is indicated by a circular letter written by Colonel Hutchins, October 12, 1797, extracts from which are here published for the first time:

"To those whom it may concern.

"Friends and Brethren,

".....I hope you'll divest yourselves of all party matters to discern fairly and to consider what the cause may be of the general outcry at the Town of Natchez against me in a variety of hurly-burly charges..... This trouble has arisen because I have on your account impeached many with frauds of the most atrocious kind committed against yourselves, and have pointedly recommended a mode for justice and relief.....I am the only actor on the Stage that hath ever espoused your cause; they know I am in their way....I expect to constrain them to do you justice in every species of fraud, and injury, although in their behalf and for lack of consideration you are striving with bitterness to persecute your only benefactor; but that as well as other insults I may dispense with, as they have artfully deceived you and falsely imposed on your understanding.....I shall avoid the malignant effects and horrors of that pestiferous faction originated from George Cochran's ignominious Letter to Col. Bruin<sup>m</sup>.....that has been productive of much evil and exposed a number of vile perpetrators that submitted to no restraint in retarding the Election, and other acts of violation against our neutrality; & the authority and peace of this Government; which also induces me to conclude that I am not to be answerable for Mr. Ellicott's & Lieut. Pope's madness and imprudence in urging the quiet and peaceable Inhabitants to Arms.....

"And I am desired as Agent for the people to acquaint Mr. Ellicott that agreeable to the purport of the Resolves of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, and I take this public method to inform him that they have lost their confidence in him, and that they beg and desire in the most importunate manner that he will not interfere in any concerns respecting the people of this Country with Congress, and that he will please confine himself to such business only that pertains to his duty of office as Commissioner for the United States, or that which he may have other special authority to act in.....For Heaven sake will you tell me who made that gentleman a Ruler or a judge amongst you; how came he your Oracle: his authority except that of a Commissioner is not much greater than yours, and if his principle had been half as good he would never have inflamed your minds against the government that had a right to your allegiance, it would have been time enough to have urged you to arms when there were a cause for it, and a force to protect you.

".....I only lament that faction cannot cease, it is now in full fury and kept alive by falacy and sly deception of three or four subtle

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<sup>m</sup> The writer has not been able to find this letter, which is frequently referred to by Col. Hutchins in his correspondence in the Claiborne Collection.

beings who are striking in the supplanting way at the very foundation of your future liberties, privileges and expectations in favor of a few whose dangerous views you are too well acquainted with to believe they are possessed with a single virtue....."

In November, 1797, it was announced that Colonel Grand Pre, had been appointed Governor of Natchez and its dependencies to succeed Gayoso. The Permanent Committee immediately announced its determination not to receive him in that capacity and declared that the assumption of the office by him would be regarded as a violation of the neutrality agreed upon and resisted accordingly.<sup>112</sup>

#### VIII.—GUION AND THE SPANIARDS.

Some time previous to this, Yrujo, the Spanish Minister at Philadelphia, had communicated to Timothy Pickering, the Secretary of State, a request that Ellicott "be confirmed to his appointment of running the boundary line and that a discreet, cool and prudent officer might be appointed to command the American troops who should take the post at the Natchez."<sup>113</sup> In response to this request Captain Guion was sent to relieve Lieutenant Pope, but owing to the repeated delays occasioned by the effort of the Spanish officials along the route<sup>114</sup>, he did

<sup>112</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 161.

<sup>113</sup> Letter from Pickering to the Secretary of War, June 10, 1797, in Claiborne Collection, Vol. E.

<sup>114</sup> The Spaniards seem to consider the possession of the Chickasaw Bluffs a matter of vital importance at this time. They had evacuated this post in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of San Lorenzo, destroyed the fortifications, and retired to Hopefield on the opposite side of the river. As Capt. Guion was instructed to stop at this point and distribute presents among the Chickasaw Indians the Spaniards bent every energy to delay his descent until after the arrival of their own vessel from New Orleans on a similar mission. If Guion had "delayed but one day," (and the Commandant at the Spanish post of New Madrid resorted to every means except violence to effect it), a great advantage would have been gained by the Spaniards. He reached these Bluffs, however, on July 20th, just eight hours after the Spanish vessel laden with presents had reached Hopefield. The Indians had assembled at the Bluffs as early as June 14th, but for want of provisions all of them were obliged to leave before the arrival of the Americans, with the exception of about fifty men and as many women and children. In order to give "the Spanish Galleys and troops from St. Louis time to reach Hopefield, a large party of the Indians," who were "decidedly in the Spanish interest," did not arrive until August 10th and 12th. Guion says that "by an imposing air of superiority of force, great generosity; introduced by a strong talk from their Chickasaw orator," they "were confident" that the Americans would not be

not reach his destination until the 6th of December, 1797. When at the Chickasaw Bluffs, where he remained several months, Captain Guion wrote Lieutenant Pope reproving him for his "improper conduct," which had exposed "the two nations to a serious misunderstanding; not to be promoted, but most strenuously and scrupulously avoided." He added a hope that "if there had been just cause of dissatisfaction on the part of Governor Gayoso," it would "no longer continue," and that Lieut. Pope would "remove it by a change of conduct." He also wrote from the same place to Governor Gayoso expressing his regret that Lieut. Pope had caused either the inhabitants of the district or the subjects of his Catholic Majesty "the smallest just cause of uneasiness or discontent," and assured his Excellency that this would cease, as orders had been given to Lieut. Pope "to observe a different conduct," and his superior officer would he hoped "shortly be there to command in person."<sup>118</sup>

Subsequent experiences with the Spaniards at the Chickasaw Bluffs gave Captain Guion a better knowledge of their character and caused him to change his methods of dealing with them. In reply to Governor Gayoso's protest against the American troops' using the wood or timber off the land of the inhabitants for making fascines, Guion wrote on January 3, 1798:

"I think, Sir, I conceive the intention of these expressions, and that they do not flow from the sacred regard due to the Rights and Interests of Individuals. But should it be so, the Trespass is chargeable at your own door: fulfill the treaty, evacuate the Garrison and supercede the necessity of making more fascines."

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allowed to remain at that place, where the Spaniards themselves "contemplated to erect works." One of the Indians exhibited a Spanish Commission and abused the Americans, while the leader of the Spanish faction among them "constantly objected to the American troops remaining at the point." The boldness of William Colbert, chief of the Chickasaws, was the only thing that averted a collision. Upon comparing the presents received from the two rival powers, the contrast was so favorable to the Americans that the Indians "testified their joy aloud and left.....well satisfied."

Having been thwarted in this plan the Spaniards made repeated efforts to induce the American Commander to leave that point without fortifying it. In this they failed also, as Capt. Guion erected a fortification, which he named Fort Adams, and over which he hoisted the American flag on October 22, 1797. Leaving a force in charge at this point, he resumed his descent of the river November 9th, and reached Natchez December 6, 1797. Notes taken from manuscript *Journal* of Capt. Guion, in the Claiborne Collection.

<sup>118</sup> Guion's manuscript *Journal*.

Two days later Guion wrote to Gayoso as follows: "As I am better versed in the duties of a Camp, than the style or intrigues of a Court, I hope that your Excellency will put a period to a Correspondence already become too lengthy, by unequivocally fixing the time when the garrisons of Natchez and Walnut Hills will be withdrawn, and thus prevent my giving any offense by misconstruction, or uncourtly expressions in reply."

January 28th, two galleys with troops and military stores passed down the river. Guion supposed that these were from the Walnut Hills, and on the day following wrote to Gayoso expressing a hope that "the operations for abandoning the posts" would be "continued with industry adequate to complete them in due time." He was mistaken in his supposition, however, and his patience was tried two months longer before this much-desired event happened. The post at the Walnut Hills was finally evacuated on the night of March 23d. Three days later Mr. Vidal called on Captain Guion and informed him that for the lack of transports he was not ready to evacuate the post at Natchez. To this Guion replied:

"The DIGNITY of the *United States of America* is no longer to bear these evasions and insults—that he [Vidal] must not think of longer trifling with their importance & that he is allowed untill next Saturday the 31st of March instant to embark all that belongs to His Master & on that day to quit the territory of the U. S. . . . . This at first produced an indigestion but a little after, recovering his appetite he acquiesced, observing that he had just then received orders of similar import from His Governor General."<sup>116</sup>

On the evening of the 29th of March, Ellicott was informed through a confidential channel that the evacuation of the post at Natchez would take place next morning before day. He accordingly "arose the next morning at 4 o'clock and walked to the fort and found the last party or rear guard just leaving it." Seeing the gate open, he "went in and enjoyed from the parapet the pleasant prospect of the galleys and boats leaving the shore and getting under way. They were out of sight of the town before daylight."<sup>117</sup> That morning at 8 o'clock Captain Guion "ordered a Sergt., one Corporal & twelve privates to take possession and the flag of the United States to be hoisted which was done and at Meridian fifteen guns were fired."<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Guion's manuscript *Journal*.

<sup>117</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 167.

<sup>118</sup> Guion's manuscript *Journal*.

## IX.—GUION AND THE RIVAL COMMITTEES.

The legal status of this country during the interim between the evacuation of the posts by the Spaniards and the establishment of a territorial government under the authority of the United States is indicated by the official instructions issued to Captain Guion. On this point, General Wilkinson's instructions of May 20, 1797, read as follows:

"At Natchez, you will find yourself in an extensive, opulent and polished community, agitated by a variety of political interests and opinions. It will be your duty to conciliate all parties to the government of our country by every means in your power, avoiding, at the same time, any just cause of offence to the Spanish authorities. The occasion will call for the exertion of all your faculties for this unfortunate people, who have no option in choosing or changing masters. The moment the Spanish dominion terminates they will find themselves without laws or magistrates, and the bonds of society being dissolved, more or less irregularities may ensue. The doubtful tenure by which they hold their lands, may become a dangerous element of agitation in the hands of the enemies of our country, and may be possibly employed to persuade them to a usurpation of the right of self-government.

"This will suggest to you the necessity of the utmost vigilance and circumspection in your intercourse; and the exertion of all your powers to combat such conclusions, inspiring them, on the other hand, with a firm reliance on the paternal disposition of our government, as well as of its power and energy in making itself obeyed. The particular mode must be left to your discretion, but you may safely promise fair and profess much, to gain time and avert excess.

"It will be your duty to abstract yourself from all personal feuds and animosities, but you will give your unequivocal protection to the friends of our government and as unequivocally to discountenance those who oppose its interests. . . . You must impress the community with a sense of your moderation and firmness; must cautiously avoid such personal intimacies as may warp your judgment, and yet form such associations as will enable you, on an emergency, whether foreign or domestic, to call to your aid a body of zealous Americans."<sup>139</sup>

This extract shows that Captain Guion was given great discretionary power in dealing with the inhabitants. Immediately upon his arrival, each of the rival factions was active in its efforts to prejudice his mind against the other. The Permanent Committee at once addressed a letter to him, enclosing certain documents to show that the inhabitants of the district were in a state of neutrality and that this committee was considered the guardians of the rights of the people. After requesting his coöperation "in the preservation of peace and in securing the privileges and advantages" of the "neutral position" of the country, the letter closed by offering him free access to the

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<sup>139</sup> Claiborne's *Miss. as a Prov. Ter. and State*, 179, 180.

files of the committee.<sup>120</sup> This effort was unsuccessful, however. Ellicott says that Guion was suffering from an indisposition at the time of his arrival and alleges that his judgment was temporarily impaired. While in this condition, he "was surrounded by a number of unworthy characters, who took advantage of his situation to prejudice his mind against the permanent committee." There seems to be little doubt but that Guion's determination not to be "made a cipher of" caused him to look upon that body with suspicion and to treat it with little respect.<sup>121</sup>

In the latter part of January, 1798, Colonel Hutchins addressed a lengthy letter to the Committee of Safety and Correspondence in which he discussed the character and extent of his services in their behalf and enumerated their grievances against the other faction. He also discussed the adaptability of the Northwest Ordinance to their conditions, and suggested a line of policy to be pursued with reference to the land claims. A few extracts are here given from this communication, which has never been published, but which is too lengthy to be quoted in full in this connection:

"I have omitted nothing wherein it was possible to serve you even to procure the money to pay the express [sent to Philadelphia with the Memorial] as not a shilling hath yet been advanced by any of you altho' I am not doubtful either of your just principle nor of your generosity in this matter.....It is really for the interest and happiness of you, my fellow Citizens, that I am striving against guileful foes, for you neither try to serve yourselves nor others as if you were plunged in darkness as blind as Bats and so shamefully seduced as to join your subtle deceivers against your only guardian and the espouser of your cause.....But what have I to gain in so unpleasant a combat on your account.....Posts of profit or honor will be of no avail nor do I want either of them.....It gives me greater pain that some of those who had signed the Memorial should be prevailed on to retract..... Strange as it is some of you are prevailed on to reject that which would be your deliverance and your happiness to unite with such whose plans are calculated to divest you of all power and privileges whatsoever more than to live and breath under the name of Citizens and with the marks and reality of slaves like unto all the people of the Territory lying North West of the Ohio except such who have interest and address enough to procure appointments, places and posts which would be and really is the horrid system that is said to be recommended by that gentleman Ellicott for you to mourn and groan under.....Few here are strangers to Mr. Ellicott's officious conduct and of the full extent of the power of that Committee whose limits were confined only to cooperate with the Spanish Officers....."

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<sup>120</sup> Claiborne Collection.

<sup>121</sup> Ellicott's *Journal*, 162-4.

"On Monday, the 5th day of February next, the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, which is the Committee of the People, meet at the house of Mr. Belk to recommend a General Meeting of the Country to consult respecting ways and means towards a temporary Government to take place as soon as the Fort shall be evacuated and at the taking down the Spanish Flag, our neutrality will of course cease, and not before. It will then be a serious matter in respect to our peace and protection in our precarious situation which ought to be as seriously attended to, as we shall be in an awful situation until we receive Laws and authority from the United States, for it is too well known that both theft and Robbery has been recently encouraged here and villains sent to commit those atrocious crimes, the contagion did quickly spread and several Horses were soon after stolen."<sup>122</sup>

The Permanent Committee, not to be outdone by its rival, issued the following circular letter bearing the date of February 1, 1798, and addressed to the inhabitants of the Natchez District:

"The permanent committee seeing the day approaching when the Spanish jurisdiction is to be withdrawn.....view with awe the interval that may take place between the recess of one Government and the establishment of another.

".....They have requested the commanding officer of the U. S. troops to inform them whether or not he was vested with special power to exercise civil jurisdiction in the country and in case he was not that whatever temporary form of government might be adopted by the people he would be so good as to give it his concurrence and support, so long as they act consistently with the principles of the free Constitution of the U. S., he politely gave the following answer, 'the power of exercising civil jurisdiction amongst you is not, as it could be, vested in me considering my present official standing. I shall most heartily concur with you in everything tending to continue tranquility and good order and which is the utmost that can be attained by any form or exercise of government.'

"The committee therefore think it their duty to recommend to their constituents to contemplate and adopt some temporary form of government, or elect throughout the district a committee or convention that will form one, under the protection and with the concurrence of the commanding officer of the U. S. troops to begin its operation at the withdrawing of the Spanish jurisdiction, and to cease on the arrival of officers vested with competent powers, and sent forward by the executive of the United States.

"Natchez. 1st february 1798,

"Signed, Gabriel Benoist,  
Peter B. Bruin,  
Isaac Gailard,  
Philander Smith,  
Roger Dixon."<sup>123</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Claiborne Collection. Reference is made in this last sentence to the efforts to delay if not to prevent entirely the transmission of the Memorial of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence to Washington. At one time the horses of the messengers on the way to the seat of government were stolen. This was attributed, and justly so perhaps, to the encouragement rendered to certain lawless persons by Ellicott and his faction.

<sup>123</sup> Claiborne Collection.



On the same day the Chairman of the Permanent Committee wrote to Captain Guion in behalf of that body, asking him if he was "impowered to exercise civil authority" among them during the interval between the removal of the Spanish jurisdiction and the establishment of a government by the President of the United States, and stating that if he did not have such authority, they would "feel it a duty . . . . . to recommend some measures" to their constituents in order "to preserve the peace & happiness of the Inhabitants."

The writer has not been able to ascertain the results produced by these two last communications. It seems that the Permanent Committee was still in disfavor, at least, with Captain Guion. The Committee of Safety and Correspondence met at the time and place specified by Colonel Hutchins. The following extracts from the minutes<sup>124</sup> of the meeting show what was done:

"The Committee met accordingly to wit. Thomas M. Green, A. Green, Hugh Davis, James Stuart, and Anthony Hogget.

"1st Resolved that notwithstanding the Commissioners are going immediately to ascertain the Latitude that by Treaty is to divide Spain & America & that the Post at Nogales is dismantled Yet we are to consider ourselves still under our Neutrality & that such state cannot consistently cease until the Fort at Natchez is Evacuated. . . . .

"2dly Resolved that the Inhabitants hath at all times & in every respect fully & amply acted consistent with their Neutrality notwithstanding there hath been many causes & provocations to break such Neutrality by the coalition, and confederation between the titular Governor, the Committee formed to coöperate with the Spanish Officers & Mr. Elicot the Commissioner & a few other designing persons.

"3rd Resolved that if Mr. Elicot & the rest of that Coalition has recommended to Congress to establish a kind of Government similar to Territories lying North West of the Ohio it is a scheme of that Coalition formed without the consent of the People greatly against their will & without their Knowledge & averse to the interest & policy of the Country.

"4th Resolve that on the part of Spain in the accommodation their Laws it may be presumed were to have been executed with justice & not with partiality, sham pretense or evasion as by which unwarrantable conduct the titular Governor hath on the part of Spain entirely broke the Neutrality aforesaid. . . . . They [The Permanent Committee] detest the horrid act of the said titular Governor with the rest of the said Coalition in the pretended prosecution of Silas L. Payne for the Robbery of the Express where the fact was so notorious & so fully & amply proved against him & so legally confessed & yet was unlawfully liberated without a legal Trial. . . . .

"5. Resolved that if Mr. Elicot & the rest of the Coalition had made any agreement with the Georgia Agents and transmitted the same to Congress respecting the Lands of the Natchez, it is an act of their own

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<sup>124</sup> This document is in the handwriting of Colonel Hutchins.

without the consent of the people, except a few of depraved minds whose understanding hath been imposed upon.....

"6thly Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that at the ceasing here of the Laws of Spain that this Country will be in a hazardous situation in respect to the peace & safety of the inhabitants before authority from the United States can be instituted that from the prospect of a failure of justice, and alarmed by the dread of the natural consequences of anarchy, hath induced this Committee to assemble to recommend to the Inhabitants the necessity of forming some temporary mode of government to commence at the Evacuation of the Fort & to extend no further than such matters as pertain to the peace of the Country, in preventing Feuds & Felonies & the like, and to accomplish which this Committee doth recommend that all the Male inhabitants who are of Age to Vote do meet at the House of Benjamin Belt on the Mun. 26th Inst. to consult upon some mode of protection and as this will hereafter be a Republican Government they conceive that not any thing ought to be done in such matters without the free voice and consent of the people therefore however inconvenient it may be to those who are most remote yet this Committee conceives it the duty of such inhabitants to attend such useful consultation and Election. This Committee doth further recommend that you then & there Elect a Committee living as contiguous to each other as possible for the convenience of meeting occasionally on matters of safety and that you Elect judicious men to act as magistrates & that you unanimously agree to enforce such temporary authority with firmness and such Magistrates to have recourse to & receive instructions from such Committee on all special occasions. Which committee having previously received instructions from you as a Convention shall by you be supported in all this conduct that shall be Consistent to such Constitution as shall be formed by said Convention."<sup>126</sup>

Although there are several points of resemblance between the suggestions of the rival committees, each professed to be acting independently. Some unknown turn in the tide of events seems to have prevented a collision between the two factions about this time. The next reference to the government of the people is contained in a letter<sup>126</sup> from Captain Guion to the Secretary of War, written on February 25th, the day before the time appointed for the meeting of the people called by the Committee of Safety and Correspondence. In this letter we find that "the inhabitants of this Country are very anxious for the establishment of some government from the executive of the United States they are critically situated."<sup>127</sup> If the citizens met on the day following as a quasi-constitutional convention, little of importance was accomplished. In fact, the inhabitants seemed to have lapsed into a state of political lethargy which continued for several weeks, and from which they were not aroused even by

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<sup>126</sup> Claiborne Collection.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*; Guion's *Journal*.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*; Guion's *Journal*.

the withdrawal of the Spanish forces on the morning of March 30th. Ten days later Ellicott quietly left Natchez and retired from the field of politics to commence operations on the line of demarcation. Guion, in writing of Ellicott's withdrawal from Natchez, adds: "He has very much lessened himself and sullied the Commission given him; by his conduct before and since his arrival here. I did not believe it till I saw it, and supposed it calumny."<sup>128</sup>

About this time communications reached Natchez from the Secretary of State which not only administered a gentle reproof to the Committee of Safety, but gave unmistakable evidence of the fact that the rival committee had found favor at the seat of government. This renewed the activity of each faction. One met in Natchez and the other at Mr. Belk's, and neither gave any recognition to the actions taken by the other. A committee appointed by the Natchez meeting addressed a communication to Captain Guion. This letter is here given in full, since Claiborne found it necessary to misquote it in order to prove his incorrect assertion that these factional differences disappeared upon Ellicott's withdrawal from Natchez.

"Natchez, May 1st, 1798.

Sir:

"For as much as it appears a matter of doubt when the officers of Government for this place may arrive, and having experienced many inconveniences in the already elapsed recess originating in the want of some Kind of Law, We the Inhabitants of this town have entered into a resolution to use our exertions towards effecting the erection of Temporary Government until that duly authorized by Congress shall arrive, and as we conceive that any measures we may adopt will (or the enforcement thereof) require the support of the Military Authority we Solicit of you that Support. And that you may be the better judge of the propriety of affording it, we proceed to state to you some of the principal objects in View. They are the following (Viz)

"The mending of Roads, Removing Public Nuisances, Establishing of a Town Patrol, Suppressing Riots and punishing Riotous persons, preventing the Sale of Spiritous liquors to Indians Establishing a regulation for the Recovery of debts that may be contracted after entering into this Association, &c., &c.

"We have not the least doubt but you will coöperate with us in those

<sup>128</sup> Letter to General Wilkinson, written May 5, 1798, and found in Guion's *Journal*. Another letter in the Claiborne Collection, without signature or date but attributed to Guion, says that Ellicott was engaged "sometimes in exciting dissensions between private families, at others endeavoring to spread a spirit of mutiny among the troops, and at all times closely intent on making a good Jobb out of the Commission receiving at the rate of Ten Dollars pr. day fix'd & some days making it Twenty." Letter addressed to Carthy. See Claiborne's *Mississippi*, 184.

Regulations and by aiding us with your Sanction and Authority give energy to measures so essential to the public good, we are the more fully Induced to believe this when we advert to recent communications between the Permanent [Committee] and yourself and by them published.<sup>129</sup>

We have the honor to be  
Sir with perfect respect  
your most obt.

David Ferguson,  
Danl. Douglass,  
Lewis Evans,  
John Scott."

Although Captain Guion's reply was expressed in respectful terms, it indicates that his attitude towards the faction that had been represented by the Permanent Committee was still unchanged. It reads as follows:

"Natchez, May 3rd, 1798.

Gentlemen:

"The objects enumerated in your paper of the first instant handed to me this day by Messrs. Evans and Ferguson are worthy of attention.

"Mending of roads, removing of public nuisances and suppressing riots in town are among the many objects that regard the police of all well regulated town communities. To effect these it is only necessary to obtain a concurrence of sentiment of the freeholders to form certain regulations which must be subscribed by them and when thus formed and promulgated shall receive my hearty support.

"The selling liquors to Indians or trading with them without a proper license from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs or such other person as the President of the United States shall authorize to grant licenses for that purpose is already interdicted by a Law of the United States passed and approved by the President on the 19th of May, 1796, and which shall be rigidly exacted on due information given me thereof.

"A regulation to enforce the payment of debts to be in future contracted must be founded upon common consent; but as this should flow from the Legislative and judicial sources it cannot be touched by me. I shall neither countenance nor discountenance what may be done in this matter, so long as violence is not used to give it efficiency."

Thus while admitting the importance of the matters referred to in the communication addressed to him, Captain Guion leaves no sphere of independent activity for the Permanent Committee. This met with the hearty approval, not only of Colonel Hutchins, but of the members of his faction, who assembled at their accustomed place of meeting, Belk's tavern, six days later and ratified what had been done.<sup>130</sup> On the day after the meeting was held, three of the most active members

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Claiborne, 127. If this communication voiced the sentiments of an assembly freed from all partisan animus, why should it refer to the work of one of the former committees and ignore the services of the other?

<sup>130</sup> Claiborne, 196.

of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, Burnet, Gibson and Hoggatt, "made it their business to ride to every beat and put up copies of"<sup>121</sup> the above letter, very much to the discomfort of the opposing faction.

#### X.—DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY AND CORRESPONDENCE.

The elation of Colonel Hutchins and his friends was, however, of short duration. Their disappointment over the results of their efforts to direct the policy of the general government in dealing with its subjects is fully set forth in the following letter from Colonel Hutchins to the Secretary of State, here published for the first time:

"Natchez, 5th May, 1798.

"Sir:

"I had the honor of receiving your Letter about 8 days after the arrival here of Mr. Dan'l Burnet, the Express having been enclosed in a packet to Mr. Elicott and am glad to learn that the petition of the People of this place will be attended to which I never doubted notwithstanding the opposition of designing persons as it contains the unfeigned supplication & prayer of the well attached Citizens of this District and to which the names of several hundreds more would have been added if it could have shown itself openly, but its immediate destruction was decreed by those who ought to have protected it however they then failed therein altho sums of money were privately advanced by certain persons of some note & distinction of the coalition to take my life & the Memorial as it was in nowise favorable to certain plans & schemes that were within the compass of their calculations yet I shall omit censure & reproach even in the smallest degree altho' they have filled the newspapers of Nashville with vile stuff & wrong allegations with indecent unbecoming language with bitter invectives & unfounded falacies yet the recoil of which ag't themselves is no small reproof & greatly compensates as it so far exceeds the bounds of all credibility that it can produce nothing in the view of the discerning but the testimony of a corrupt heart and the odious guilt of calumny.

"I hope you will permit me to contradict & object to the boasted merit Mr. Elicott claims of having quieted the people & that he prevented the growth of the past insurrection here for to the contrary he with Lieut. Pope is entitled to the whole merit of creating it as they were the entire cause thereof as well known to the country at large notwithstanding the disguised & artful representation to the contrary but the accommodation & quietude of the mislead people was most certainly the act of another for indeed it was not an easy task to prepare the minds of those two Gentlemen to admit of pacific measures at all altho' the one was more easily dissuaded than the other at length the whole was effectually accomplished by a person of more extensive influence with the inhabitants & who did then receive the public and private thanks of those very persons now in opposition nor did even the most inveterate opposer Mr. Clark refrain who most certainly addressed G. Gayoso with great politeness on the occasion & with the signatures of himself & all those of his District to his letter of thanks, appeared most

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<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

respectful & was presented by the permanent Committee before the Governor & in whose hands it remains to be shown at any time & the same person has been the main support to the Neutrality from the moment of its institution.

"On casting an Eye over the Reports & documents you favored me with, I observe that Mr. E— has sent you a Resolve of the permanent Committee empowering him as if they were instructed by the people at large so to do in matters conducive to their future welfare &c. be assured Sir that that Committee cannot consistently Act in the smallest degree further than in coöperation with the officers of the Spanish Government nor hath any of the Inhabitants except those of the Coalition assented to deligation of such powers to Mr. E— & altho' they have made an arbitrary resolve on that head it is without the least authority & ag't the will of the people and it would look rather awkward to cram down their throats such disagreeable & unpalatable food as would afterwards be too hard of digestion and in relation to the certificate of the titular Govr S. Minor from under his hand & seal at Natchez at Government House the 16th of Sept'r, 1797, is a mere farce 'that such committee are the sole representatives of the inhabitants & that faith is due their proceedings as such as also to the representations they may make in behalf of the public in all cases' when there is not a word of truth in his Certificate the whole is false calculated with design as one of the coalition for evil purposes altho' a Spanish officer.

"Nor will it be any credit to Mr. Elicot, Minor nor the Committee thus to impose on both Congress & the people here for on my notifying the receipt of the aforesaid Documents & sending the falacious parts about the Country I was soon surrounded with crowds of uneasie gloomy countenances whose faces were veiled with discontent & dismay and their joyful expectations of freedom & of voting as Republicans for those who are to act for them they fear will vanish as soon as they are ruled with a rod of Iron & taxed without consent.

"And as they see the prospect of a failure of success from art & subtle device of an unprincipaled coalition & faction composed of a small number only & after the imposition & falicy is proved by the oath of hundreds of the best inhabitants here such attestations with a New petition they say will be prepared & exhibited in hopes that they may still touch the golden scepter that may be held out for access and deliverance.

"I wish to convince the world of my undesigned intention I was only prevailed on to give some small assistance to the people I have neither fee nor reward nor compensation of any kind for trouble or attendance nor lucrative expectations posts or places I have no pretence to nor if offered would I accept of as my antiquated time of life & other concurrent defects & impediments forbid all prospect of such attainments.

"And notwithstanding the reprehensible & shameful conduct of Mr. Minor & others as appears by Documents laid before Congress yet from a paragraph in your Letter that the Memorial was presented the bare information & Idea of which doth greatly console many & compose their minds under a sense of enjoying as far as consistent similar privileges with other Citizens, they acknowledge the defects of their Memorial in style & Language as from people bread only to industry & hard labour. And I am exceedingly sorry that I on my part have given any dissatisfaction but the pursuit after justice & truth will naturally produce envy it will not be amiss to tell you I have long turned my attention as far as possible to certain matters intrigues & the like nor did they remain with me an entire secret that a very extensive revolt was intended but much pain has heretofore been taken & not without expence by different ways & means by private messages & by anonomous Letters both to the late as well as the present president of Congress &

others and confess my desire was to shew my sincerity & firmness which hath not been omitted throughout the course of enquiry through many channels to & from apprehensions of danger strove to alarm the U. S. nor could I divest myself of a convincing belief of diabolical intentions to dismember the Dominion & the movings of my mind be assured flowed with great anxiety as I expected in the course of things to become a Citizen altho' I was (if the term will admit) a British Subject within the Spanish Dominion. I only mention this as I would wish to remind you of past intimations & communications as I never expect to write to you again.

"And as it is displeasing to hear the crimes and misdemeanors or rather faults and failings of certain persons I shall wave the Subject and advert to your advice and the most pleasing part of your wishes that of accommodations of differences and party disputes and this will be perfectly accomplished except with the few of the Coalition & faction all others will be set right after contemplation on the horrid Resolve of the permanent Committee & Minors authenticated shameful certificate which all the country know to be wrong & greatly ag't them for there was among the inhabitants (a few excepted) almost perfect peace & unanimity before the arrival here of Mr. Elicot so hath the flame ceased & tranquility greatly restored since his departure for Latitude 31.

"I can with pleasure inform you that the Choctaw Indians appear very friendly & say that their past dissatisfaction proceeded only from Mr. E—, whose tongue they say is forked that he always talked crooked that they could not hear his talk that it made them seek that his heart was hollow & rotten and Lieut. Pope greatly coincides with them in opinion for he openly declares him to be the greatest liar in this Country & that he was known to be such in the Country he came from this I mention as I would that you should know what passes here. And on finishing this scrawl an account arrived that this Country was really organized without any regard to the Memorial the people greatly lament the slight and many will leave the Country & are preparing to remove among the Spaniards which I am heartily sorry for. I wish you happiness & many days and assume to be

Sir, your  
Most Obd't  
Hble Servt." <sup>128</sup>

This prolonged fight seems to have exhausted the patience of Captain Guion, as is shown by the following extract from a letter to John Wilkins, Quartermaster General, dated May 9, 1798:

"This is a Hot Country & peopled in a very chequered manner—a great number of the most turbulent Characters who have fled from the different States, for fear of having justice done on them. They are the most clamorous for government (having nothing to protect) and afraid of it." <sup>129</sup>

Before another month had elapsed, however, quietude had been restored and Captain Guion expressed himself very differently in a letter of June 13th to the Secretary of War. In this he said:

"The people of this district, who when left to the unbiased exercise

<sup>128</sup> Claiborne Collection.

<sup>129</sup> Guion's *Journal*.

of their own judgment are in the majority above the ordinary capacity of like numbers in most of the States, anxiously look for the laws and officers of government for this Country. They are, and have been remarkably tranquil, their situation fairly considered: a few turbulent and busy Spirits excepted: yet the arrival of the governor, Judges, &c., would add much to their satisfaction, and my ease." <sup>184</sup>

Winthrop Sargent, the newly-appointed Governor of the Territory, arrived at Natchez on the 6th of August, 1798, and assumed control of the government. This event marks the close of the period of transition from Spanish to American control in Mississippi.

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<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*





## GRENADA AND NEIGHBORING TOWNS IN THE 30's.<sup>1</sup>

BY L. LAKE.<sup>2</sup>

### HENDERSONVILLE.

This town was built on the site of an old Indian village, four miles south of the present town of Coffeeville. It was here that Col. T. C. McMacken, the celebrated hotel keeper, in the early history of North Mississippi, began his career. The mercantile firms of this town in 1834 were: Martin, Edwards & Co.; John H. McKenney; Armour, Lake & Bridges; H. S. and W. Lake; and McCain & Co. The physicians of the town at that date were Thomas Vaughn, Robert Malone and ——— Murkerson. The following citizens were then living at that place: Thomas B. Ives; Murdock Ray, justice of the peace; Stephen Smith, blacksmith; Alfred McCaslin, blacksmith; and Joshua Weaver, constable. This town aspired to be the county seat of Yalobusha county, but failed in this, the seat of justice being located at Coffeeville, which was nearer the center of the county. Hendersonville then went down and ultimately lost its name, being absorbed in a farm known as "Oakchickamau," which was owned by Franklin E. Plummer. The names of this farm and of the new county seat, Coffeeville, were later associated together in a stanza of poetry written by one E. Percy, an editor who settled at Coffeeville at an early date. Becoming very much incensed against the citizens of Coffeeville, he moved away, and afterwards wrote the following piece of doggerel:

"Upon a hill near Durden's Mill,  
There is a place called Coffeeville;  
The meanest town I ever saw  
Save Plummer's town, Oakchickamau."

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<sup>1</sup> This article is the result of an interview with Capt. L. Lake, of Oxford, Mississippi; the facts having been recorded and arranged by the editor of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Capt. Lake was born in Maryland. In 1830 he moved to Jackson, Tennessee. Four years later he removed to Mississippi, settling at old Hendersonville. The year following he removed to what afterwards became the town of Grenada, where he engaged in the mercantile business. In 1878 he removed to Oxford, where he resides at present.—  
EDITOR.

## COFFEEVILLE.

In 1834 the first court of Yalobusha County was held at Coffeeville, the newly established county seat. The court was presided over by Judge Matthew Clanton. At that time there was only one mercantile firm (J. and T. H. Jones), in the town. The land upon which the town was afterwards built was owned by Arelias McCreeless(?), in one room of whose dwelling the first court was held. This town grew rapidly, absorbing the population and business of Hendersonville. Yalobusha was then the most northern county in Mississippi, and Coffeeville was on the extreme northern limit of the white settlements in the State.

## GRENADA.

The present town of Grenada originally embraced two rival towns. The western town situated on the Yalobusha River was founded by a company headed by Franklin E. Plummer. It was known as Pittsburg. Adjoining it on the east was the town of Tulahoma, which was founded by a company headed by Hiram G. Runnels. There was an inveterate opposition between the two towns similar to that existing between their founders, who were uncompromising political enemies. This antagonism greatly impeded the progress of both towns, Pittsburg having the ascendancy.

Previous to the union of these towns, Pittsburg contained the following business houses: James Sims; R. T. Briarly; Prior and Howard; John Gibbs; Thomas Flack; and R. Coffman and Co.

Its original settlers were: John Smith, hotel keeper; James Sims, merchant; Drs. Allen Gallaspie and ——— Douthet, physicians; G. D. Mitchell, teacher; M. H. Mellon, blacksmith; Ralph Coffman, merchant; C. H. Grey, planter; and Jonathan Carl, miller.

Among the first mercantile firms of Tulahoma were: Larkin Cleveland; Clark Dougan; Armour, Lake and Morton; H. S. and W. Lake and Co. Its original settlers were: John Balfour, ferryman; Maj. Jack Williams, hotel-keeper; Joseph Bullock, drayman; Larkin Cleveland, merchant; Mrs. Annie Parker, hotel-keeper; Mr. Dabbage, baker; George K. Morton, merchant; Wm. Marshall, silversmith; Daniel Robertson, town

marshall; Mrs. ——— Smith, planter; John B. Pass, planter, and Henry Lake, William Lake, George Lake and Levin Lake, merchants.

Pittsburg being the larger place had a newspaper and a post-office, giving it a decided advantage over its rival. In the course of time the editor of the Pittsburg paper became indebted to the citizens of his town, who held a mortgage on his printing outfit. The Tulahomians loaned him money to raise the mortgage on the condition that he would move into their town with his paper. This condition was complied with and Tulahoma gained the newspaper very much to the chagrin of the citizens of Pittsburg. The ambitious Tulahomians afterwards secured the postoffice, which fact gave them a still further advantage over their rivals. Pittsburg finally got the post-office back but failed in her efforts to get the newspaper. In the final consolidation of the two towns the postoffice was placed on the boundary line between them.

There were also two rival ferries across the Yalobusha River at this place, Tulahoma having control of the upper and Pittsburg of the lower. Pittsburg capital built a bridge over the river and a levy across the low lands. These contributed little to the prosperity of the town, and the turnpike and bridge company became financially embarrassed. The improvements were ultimately sold to certain citizens of Tulahoma.

During the political campaign of 1835, in which Plummer concentrated his rugged eloquence against Runnels, who was a candidate for reelection to the office of governor, these two little towns were in a state of constant turmoil. The inhabitants of each shared the feelings and prejudices of their respective leaders and indulged in spirited denunciations of those living in the other. On the occasion of a joint discussion between Plummer and Runnels, partisan feeling ran so high that bloodshed was narrowly averted.

In July, 1836, commissioners were appointed from the two towns to endeavor to bring about a reconciliation with view to an ultimate union. The reconciliation was effected and the consolidation took place. The original names of the two towns were abandoned and the new name of Grenada was agreed upon. The union was consummated at a barbecue held on July 4, 1836, the marriage ceremony of the towns being performed by the

Rev. ——— Lucas, a Protestant Methodist minister. At the conclusion of this unique ceremony, there was a great hand-shaking and a general reconciliation. The barbecue was held at a spring in the eastern part of Tulahoma.

There was at first some opposition on the part of Pittsburg to the choice of this place as the scene of reconciliation, many of its citizens preferring any place on the line between the towns. But as there was no water convenient to any place on the line, they finally yielded the point and agreed to enter the limits of Tulahoma.

The honeymoon had hardly passed, however, when the old spirit of rivalry was revived. The west side finally broke up the union and settled back upon its old name "Pittsburg." The other side retained the name of Grenada. The opposition was so intense that the citizens of Pittsburg were arranging to have it incorporated with its old limits leaving out Grenada. The citizens of Grenada were duly informed of this scheme. Without letting the other party know their intention, they sent a committee to Jackson, and secured the passage of a legislative act which incorporated their town with certain limits, leaving out the rival town. The success of this scheme caused the citizens of Pittsburg to abandon the hope of securing a separate charter of incorporation for their town, because of its proximity to Grenada. Realizing the great disadvantage under which they were placed, they sued for peace. They presented a petition to Grenada to extend her corporate limits so as to embrace Pittsburg, agreeing to drop forever their old name and to be recognized forever as a part of Grenada. This action was followed by a harmonious adjustment of all factional differences. The business interests of the enlarged town concentrated at a later date in the eastern part (old Tulahoma), the western part (old Pittsburg) becoming the resident portion. "Greater" Grenada then made rapid progress as a commercial and resident point. Churches were erected in the following order: Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist.

## THE HISTORY OF BANKING IN MISSISSIPPI.

CHARLES HILLMAN BROUGH.<sup>1</sup>

The history of banking in Mississippi falls within four well defined periods, which may be designated as follows: (1) Sound banking and secure issues (1809-1830); (2) State banking and shin plasters (1830-1842); (3) Brokerage and bankruptcy (1842-1865); (4) Private and national banking and cautious conservatism (1865——).

Out of a confused mass of Spanish coin,—consisting of doubloons, dollars, pistareens and picayunes—out of an inelastic and irredeemable currency of cotton-gin certificates made negotiable by law for delivery to bearer, there sprang full-fledged in Mississippi's territorial days a demand for an agency which would secure a uniform currency and manufacture a credit quickly convertible into specie. The Bank of Mississippi,

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Hillman Brough, at present Professor of Philosophy, History and Economics in Mississippi College, was born in Clinton, Miss., July 9, 1876. For six years he resided in Utah with his parents, but returned to his native State to enjoy, under the direction of his uncle and aunt, Dr. and Mrs. Hillman, the educational advantages offered by the two institutions of learning located in Clinton. Graduating from Mississippi College with the honors of his class in 1893-94, he subsequently pursued a three years' post-graduate course in economics, history and jurisprudence in the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore. While there he was awarded the Fellowship in Economics on his doctor's dissertation, *Irrigation in Utah*, which received most complimentary reviews from the leading French, German and American periodicals. In June, 1898, he received the doctor's degree from the Johns Hopkins. At about the same time he received notice of his election to the chair of Philosophy, History and Economics in his Alma Mater, Mississippi College. Dr. Brough succeeded in this work Dr. W. S. Webb, one of the most successful and venerated educators in the State.

Since his return to Mississippi, Dr. Brough has been actively engaged in educational work. He has delivered literary addresses before many high schools in the State, and has been in demand on the lecture platform in this and in other States. As a member of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Historical Society, Dr. Brough has been untiring in his efforts to promote the interests of this organization. His contributions to the *Publications* of the Society are economic in their selection. "The History of Taxation in Mississippi" and "The History of Banking in Mississippi," will be found in Volumes II. and III., respectively. Dr. Brough is a member of the American Historical Society, of the American Academy of Social and Political Science, of the Mississippi State Historical Society, and was nominated as a member of the American Society of Hydrography.—EDITOR.

chartered by the territorial legislature, Dec. 23, 1809, was the chrysalis of this demand for the promotion of Mississippi's virgin agricultural and commercial interests.

This institution was chartered as a private corporation with headquarters at Natchez, and a capital stock of \$500,000, \$100,000 of which was paid up.<sup>2</sup> Its management was vested in a board of thirteen directors, elected by the stockholders and to which board all stockholders were eligible. The pattern on which its financial bias was cut was modern in its conservatism, issues being restricted to three times the amount of the capital stock and the directors made individually liable for any excess over this amount. The charter was granted for twenty-five years, and ten commissioners chosen for their official prominence and financial integrity, were appointed to effect an immediate sale of the stock.

From the day its doors opened in 1809 until it was superseded by the notorious Planters' Bank in 1830, this pioneer agency of deposit, loan and discount in Mississippi conducted its business in the interests of the whole community and furnished a currency that was never dishonored. Only once was its management criticised, then to be triumphantly vindicated. On Dec. 22, 1814, the committee of seven appointed by the house to "inquire into the causes of the Bank of Mississippi refusing to pay specie for notes issued by said bank," unanimously reported that "the failure to pay specie has not arisen from any danger of insolvency on the part of the bank, but from causes deeply involving the best interests of our country. The bank has means of payment more than sufficient to meet any demands against it, bearing the proportion of eighteen to eight. \* \* \* The object of the President and Directors is to prevent the enemy now on our coast, by their emissaries among us from obtaining, through us, means of supporting their armies and navy of facilitating their means of annoying by draining our country of specie."<sup>3</sup> No higher encomium can be pronounced

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<sup>2</sup> For provisions of charter (cf. *Rev. Code, Miss.*, 1823, pp. 465-468).

<sup>3</sup> A contemporary historian tells us that the Bank of Mississippi had no favorites, was ruled by no clique, was never used to favor monopolists and speculators, to depress and augment prices, or to practice any of those frauds that have made the American banking system so justly obnoxious. (Cf. Claiborne: *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. I., pp. 301-302).

on the management of the Bank of Mississippi during its nine years existence as a private institution than the fact that the first Legislature which met after Mississippi's administration as a State converted it from a *private* into a *State* bank, with an enlarged capital of \$300,000, and further extended its charter seven years beyond the original twenty-five years limit.

The supplemental charter<sup>4</sup> which became a law February 4, 1818, provided, on the one hand, that the State should subscribe one-fourth of the capital stock and appoint five of the sixteen directors and on the other, that the bank should furnish the State with a monthly statement of its condition and allow the Governor the right to frequently inspect the books. Branch offices were established at Woodville, Port Gibson, and on or near the Pearl River in Marion County, and the privilege was granted the bank of increasing the stock at offices already established and of increasing the number of offices, whenever the directors should deem it wise. To further strengthen the bank in the confidence of the people, its notes were made legal tender in all payments to the State and were given a monopoly of circulation until the time fixed for the expiration of the charter, Dec. 30, 1840.

For twenty-two years the Bank of Mississippi had an honorable career as a State institution, and never once was there a complaint that it did not fulfill its whole duty to the State. Yet in violation of the solemn pledge of the sixteenth section of its supplemental charter which expressly states that "no other bank shall be established by any further law of this State during the continuance of the aforesaid corporation," in 1830 the Legislature established the Planters' Bank as the fiscal agent of the State—thus transmitting to the succeeding generation of Mississippi's lawmakers that legacy of financial perfidy and dishonor which reached a fitting climax in the repudiation of the bonds of the Union Bank in 1842. Discouraged by this act of bad faith on the part of the State, and foreseeing that there would be an insatiable appetite for more money to be loaned to irresponsible borrowers, the Bank of Mississippi prudently obtained

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<sup>4</sup>For provisions of supplemental charter (*Cf. Rev. Code Miss.*, 1823, pp. 468-472).



consent to close out its business before the expiration of its charter.

More eloquent than words is the appended statement<sup>a</sup> showing the condition of the bank and its offices on November 1, 1831, barely seven weeks before the passage of the Act authorizing "the stockholders of the Bank of the State of Mississippi, to close their affairs with as much advantage to the public, and as little inconvenience to the individual stockholders as possible."<sup>b</sup>

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Resources.</i>	
Capital, .....	\$1,048,500 00	Bills receivable, .....	\$1,538,756 34
Surplus, .....	84,840 93	Bills in suit, .....	19,606 51
Undivided dividends, .	6,705 00	Specie, .....	83,587 70
Deposits, .....	209,127 29	Real estate, .....	68,438 51
Notes, .....	451,040 00	Exchange on New Or-	
State debt to bank,...	962,823 40	leans, .....	282,324 73
Due other banks, ....	165,995 25	Due by branch offices,	962,310 77
Miscellaneous, .....	62,878 66	Due by other banks,...	22,535 68
		Other assets, .....	14,350 29
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	\$2,991,910 53		\$2,991,910 53

In conformity with the provisions of the Act providing for its dissolution by Dec. 31, 1832, the Bank of Mississippi had reduced its loans of over \$1,500,000, to a minimum of \$300,000, and had refunded its capital stock to the State at the rate of twenty-five per cent. per annum. Thus, the pioneer banking institution, which had contributed so much to her material prosperity, died, as it had lived, respected for its financial integrity and prompt observance of every obligation imposed upon it—this, too, despite the fact that it was constantly harassed by legislative action, and finally forced into voluntary liquidation by political demagoguery and infamous treachery.

The incorporation of the Planters' Bank by a Legislative Act, approved February 10, 1830, was the sowing of the wind of unsound finance, which was to reap a whirlwind of "wild cats," shin plasters and shaving shops.

Yet it must be admitted that the incorporation of such an institution was grounded in economic expediency and political philosophy. Within the decennial period from 1820 to 1830,

<sup>a</sup> Statement submitted to the Governor, Nov. 22, 1831, by Gabriel Tichenor, Cashier Bank of Mississippi (*Cf. Mississippi Senate Journal*, 1831, p. 54).

<sup>b</sup> *Mississippi Senate Journal*, 1831, p. 195.

the population of the State had increased from 75,448 to 136,621. The annual proceeds from the cotton crop at this time approximated \$10,000,000, and our agricultural resources were being developed at a fictitious rate. This increase in population and expansion in industry naturally caused a universal demand for an increase in banking capital and an expansion in the circulating medium. Again, it was currently reported that upon the expiration of the charter of the Bank of Mississippi the great United States Bank, which Jackson had denounced as a hydra-headed monster, contemplated locating a branch office at Natchez. Small wonder is it that Governor Brandon, a devoted disciple of Jackson, should have deprecated such a step in his annual message of 1828, and should have recommended in lieu thereof the establishment of State banking institutions, in the stock of which the State "could either become a participant or require a bonus from the stockholders equal to the prerogative they might enjoy."<sup>7</sup>

In accordance with the recommendation, the Planters' Bank was established at Natchez, with a capital of \$3,000,000, two-thirds of which was subscribed by the State and paid for in five per cent. bonds running from ten to twenty-five years from date of issue.<sup>8</sup> Besides the stock subscription on the part of the State, other interesting features of the charter were the provisions in regard to the appointment of seven directors by the Governor to represent the State, and the election of six directors by the private stockholders to represent the bank, the thirteen directors so chosen to constitute a board of management renewable annually; the inelegibility of non-residents as directors; the limitation of note issue to three times the paid-up capital stock; the loan of one-half the capital stock on mortgage securities, the money so loaned to be apportioned among the Senatorial districts of the State; the incorporation of the three per cent. and literary funds and all moneys accruing from fines, forfeitures and escheats as a part of the capital stock; the exemption of the capital stock from taxation; the fixing of seven per cent. as the lawful rate of interest upon all sums loaned on personal security and eight per cent. when loaned on

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<sup>7</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1828, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> For provisions of charter (*Cf. Mississippi Laws*, 1829-30, pp. 92-109).

mortgage security; the limited liability of the shareholders, and the pledge of faith of the State for the payment of the principal and interest of the bonds issued.

Samuel Gustin, Angus McNeill and R. L. Throckmorton were appointed commissioners to negotiate the State loan, and so successful were they in their efforts that Governor Brandon, in his message of November 22, 1831, was able to report the sale of \$500,000 of the six per cent. bonds to Joseph D. Burs & Co. and J. L. and S. Joseph & Co., stock and exchange brokers of New York, at a premium of one-eighth per cent. The Governor very significantly adds that the premium would have been greater had not some persons industriously circulated the opinion that the Legislature had violated the faith of the State pledged to the Bank of Mississippi in granting a charter to the Planters' Bank.\* The brokers from whom the loan was obtained were solicitous to have the bonds exchanged for certificates of stock of Mississippi similar to those issued by New York and Ohio, and this exchange was recommended by the Commissioners on the ground that it would enhance the credit of the State in the money market.

Early in 1831 private subscriptions for \$1,000,000 of the stock were opened at Natchez, which had been temporarily designated by the charter as the central office until the site of the State capital was determined, and superintendents were appointed for the branches at Vicksburg, Port Gibson, Woodville, Columbus, Monticello, Liberty, Rodney, and, later, at Schula, in Holmes county. At a meeting of the Board of Directors, held in Natchez, April 1, 1831, the following resolution was passed. Whereas, the accommodation loans of long standing have been by the annual process of reduction almost extinguished, and, whereas, it will be necessary in consequence of the establishment of a branch of the Bank of the United States in this city, to reduce very considerably the amount of our permanent loans; and, whereas, the State has enjoyed an accommodation without reduction for the last ten years, and on terms much more favorable than those granted to individuals;

Therefore, be it resolved, that the Executive of this State

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\* *Mississippi Senate Journal*, 1831, p. 9.

be notified that payment of the whole sum due by the State will be expected on or before the first day of January, 1832.<sup>10</sup>

This resolution did not stimulate the State to issue and dispose of the \$1,500,000 of bonds still due on its subscription within the time named, because Governor Scott states in his message of January 8, 1833, that "of the two millions worth of stock reserved for the State in this [the Planters'] Bank, there still remain \$1,474,100 yet vacant."<sup>11</sup> Later in 1833, however, the delinquency on the part of the State was made good, and we see the bank carrying on a prosperous business until the specie circular panic of 1837.

A statement signed by J. Wilkins and S. Sprague, President and Cashier, respectively, of the bank, shows that on December 22, 1834, the bank's capital stock was \$3,890,412, its circulation \$1,760,371, and its deposits and deposit certificates \$557,927. The heaviest resources were bills receivable, \$3,272,625, domestic bills of exchange, \$2,914,495, and a suspended debt of \$484,918.<sup>12</sup> Two years later the bank had a paid-up capital stock of \$4,172,940, a circulation of \$1,911,427, and deposits and certificates of deposit of \$409,699.<sup>13</sup> So satisfactory was the condition of the bank at this time that the Auditor of Public Accounts, in his report of 1837, recommends the investment of the surplus revenue received from the Federal Government in Planter's Bank stock, stating that the bank declared annual dividends of ten per cent., and that its stock stood higher than that of any other bank in the United States.<sup>14</sup> When the crash came in 1837, the original capital stock of \$3,000,000 had been increased to over \$4,000,000, and the parent institution at Natchez could boast of seven branches, located at Jackson, Vicksburg, Port Gibson, Columbus, Monticello, Woodville and Manchester.

Notwithstanding this *prima facie* prosperity, criticism was rife against the institution that stood as the exponent of the Jacksonian idea of State banking. To the Whigs the existence of

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<sup>10</sup> *Mississippi Senate Journal*, 1831, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1833, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1835, p. 37.

<sup>13</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1837, p. 26.

<sup>14</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1837, p. 20.

the Planters' Bank had always been a synonym of wounded pride, because its establishment had been recommended by a Democratic governor and sanctioned by a Democratic Legislature as a means of preventing the introduction into the State of a branch of the Bank of the United States, of which the Whig party was the political sponsor.

Again, enamored of the Democratic ideal of equality of opportunity in a competitive economy, some of the disciples of Jackson in Mississippi opposed the bank as a governmental concern, arguing in support of this thesis that inasmuch as seven of the thirteen directors were appointed by the Governor, State control practically crushed out private initiative and left a public monopoly. This view was voiced by Governor Scott in his message of January 8, 1833, the Governor even going so far as to hazard the opinion that an amendment to the charter granting the private stockholders a preponderance in the management of the institution was absolutely necessary to effect a sale of the vacant stock.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, both political parties were loyally wedded to the idea of an increase of banking capital commensurate with the increase in crop values. Governor Runnels forcibly presents this view in his message of January 21, 1835, when he says, "The branches of the Planters' Bank, located at different points in the State, with the limited capital assigned them, when taking into view the necessity of the country, are a mere mockery of banking principles. The net proceeds of the crop of the State of Mississippi is ascertained to have been \$11,316,000, and the crop of 1834 may be fairly estimated as \$15,000,000. Can it, therefore, with this view of the subject, be thought by the most miserly economist in banking matters, that a State, whose amount of product in the single of article of cotton, amounts to \$15,000,000, with every probability of an increased ratio of twenty-five per cent. per annum for many years to come, can get along with a banking capital of \$6,000,000. Being fully convinced of the necessity of enlarging the banking capital of the State, I recommend the establishment of a bank on the principle of the Union or Citizens' Bank of Louisiana, the stock of which to be taken by planters on the mortgage

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<sup>15</sup> *Mississippi Senate Journal*, 1833, p. 10.

of their lands; by which means it is believed that loan may be effected at a low rate of interest, terminating with the charter. A bank erected on this principle and placed at the control of the planters of the country, will insure a sound currency, and at the same time will enable the planters to increase their force and render more productive their lands."<sup>16</sup>

This flush-time financial fantasy, given in the message of an able and popular governor that degree of respectability which attaches even to the semblance of truth, was but an ever recurring effervescence of the "Mississippi Bubble," whose airy nothingness was made brilliant in the light of a fictitious prosperity. Unfortunately the Mississippi Constitution of 1817 contained no prohibition against the State ownership and management of banks, an omission which caused a reckless emission of worthless bills of credit, bank notes and watered stock. Every "cross-road" town in the State had a bank; every railroad and other enterprise projected for internal improvement received banking privileges as a charter bonus; and, as if a "boot" were needed to effect an incorporation, the Legislature in a whimsical trading spirit conferred on many banks the unheard-of authority to buy and sell real estate and personal property at discretion.

So inviting was this mushroom growth of paper promises to pay, so plausible was the theory that King Cotton could secure credit in any market of the world, that the 9th section of the 7th article of the Constitution of 1832, forbidding the State to borrow money and to pledge its faith for the redemption of any loan or debt, was deliberately disregarded and flagrantly violated.<sup>17</sup> From December 20, 1831, when banking privileges were conferred on the West Feliciana and Woodville Railroad,

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<sup>16</sup> *Mississippi Senate Journal*, 1835, p. 21.

<sup>17</sup> "No law shall ever be passed to raise a loan of money upon the credit of the State, or to pledge the faith of the State for the payment or redemption of any loan or debt unless such law be proposed in the Senate or House of Representatives, be agreed to by a majority of the members of each House and entered on the journals with the yeas and nays taken thereon, be referred to the next succeeding Legislature, and published for three months previous to the next regular election in three newspapers of this State:..... Provided, that nothing in this section shall be so construed as to prevent the Legislature from negotiating a further loan of one and one half millions of dollars, and vesting the same in stock reserved to the State by the charter of the Planters Bank of the State of Mississippi."

until the crash came in 1837, Mississippi was gridironed with imaginary railroads and bedridden with railroad banks. In these enterprises there was more watered stock sold than there were cross-ties laid; post-note clippers commanded a premium over good road-beds; reckless speculation brooked nothing as prosaic as the actual construction of railroads, on the successful operation of which it was supposed fabulous dividends would be declared.

¶ Among these railroad banks may be mentioned the Commercial Railroad Bank of Vicksburg, with branches at Clinton and Vernon; the Grand Gulf Railroad and Banking Company, with a branch at Gallatin; the West Feliciana, the Mississippi and Alabama and the Tombigby Railroad and Banking Companies, representing on May 10, 1837, an aggregate capital of \$6,616,101, and a circulation of \$1,721,947. At this time the total banking capital of the State amounted to \$10,557,212, and the total circulation to \$2,500,210, to both of which sums it will be seen railroad banks contributed nearly 70 per cent.<sup>18</sup>

To complete the wildcat series of banks, there must be added to the railroad banks the following banks which did not profess by their articles of incorporation to be agencies of internal improvement, viz: The Agricultural Bank, Commercial Bank of Rodney, Commercial Bank of Columbus, Commercial Bank of Manchester, now Yazoo City; Commercial Bank of Natchez, with branches at Canton, Brandon, Holmesville and Shieldsboro; Citizens Bank of Yalobusha, Citizens Bank of Madison County, Bank of Northern Mississippi, Bank of Grenada, Bank of Port Gibson and Bank of Lexington.

Rapid emigration and speculation in cotton, negroes and land, the overthrow of the United States Bank and above all the removal of the government deposits to the "pet banks" of the South and the West, all gave a tremendous impetus to State banking in Mississippi in the thirties. It was not thought Pickwickian in the least for a bank to file a statement showing a chartered capital of \$1,000,000 and a paid up capital of less than \$50,000. And for twenty of these pets to boast of a budget, in which the specie constituted less than four-tenths per

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<sup>18</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1838, pp. 170-171.

cent. of the total resources, as was the case in 1839<sup>19</sup>, was thought to be a knightly banking chivalry worthy the chivalry of Southern society!

But this farce fiscal comedy was destined to become a high tragedy when Jackson, with brutal honesty and a belief in the money of the Constitution, in 1836 issued his famous specie circular, specifying that specie alone would be accepted in payment for public lands. The pet banks of Mississippi, prompted to over-issue by the indiscriminate deposit of public funds and tempted to avarice by virtue of their connection with irresponsible commission houses, were ill at ease when the premium on specie was measuring the discount on their worthless post notes and paper. Redundancy in the money market, recklessness in management and rapacity in the interest rates charged for accommodation conspired to cause a crisis and ultimately to force a suspension of specie payments.

The night of distress and depression that followed was one of Egyptian darkness, its death-like stillness broken ever and anon by such pitiable wails as this: <sup>20</sup>

Why don't the banks resume? Ah! why  
Do they prolong the day  
And at their counters change deny  
And only paper pay?  
They've made us wait full long enough,  
And scold and fret and fume;  
And now we want some better stuff—  
Why don't the banks resume?

Why don't the banks resume? Oh! tell  
The folks the reason why;  
'Twere better for the folks that sell,  
And good for those that buy;  
For specie's such a clever thing,  
It takes but little room,  
When purses with its music ring—  
Why don't the banks resume?

To meet this demand for specie on January 21, 1837, the monster Mississippi Union Bank was chartered as a State institution, with a capital stock of \$15,500,000.<sup>21</sup> This capital was to be raised by means of loans negotiated through the sale of State five per cent. bonds, for which the credit of the State

<sup>19</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1840, pp. 216-217.

<sup>20</sup> Files of *Mississippi Free Trader*, Natchez, April 27, 1838.

<sup>21</sup> For provisions of the Union Bank charter (*Cf. Mississippi Laws*, 1824-1838, pp. 766-784).



was pledged. The bank was required to secure the payment of these bonds, principal and interest, by mortgage upon the property of its stockholders. Three commissioners were appointed in each district of the State to appraise the property of those who wished to become stockholders. It was provided, in this connection, that every stockholder should be entitled to a credit equal to one-half the total amount of their respective shares, on which four per cent. interest should be paid, the notes of the stockholders to be renewable annually until the whole loan was extinguished. Debts due by the bank, exclusive of deposits, were restricted to double the amount of the capital stock; the rate of discount was fixed at seven per cent., and the \$15,500,000 of bonds were made payable in four installments, covering a period of twenty years.

The management of the institution was vested in a board of thirteen directors, five of whom were to be elected by the Legislature at its biennial sessions, the remaining eight to be annually chosen by the qualified stockholders. Eight banking districts were provided for, in each of which there was to be an office of deposit and discount. The central office was located in Jackson, while branches were established at Aberdeen, Augusta, Liberty, Lexington, Macon, Tillatoba and Vicksburg. The charter was granted for forty years.

According to constitutional requirements, that part of the act of incorporation pledging the faith of the State for the payment of its bonded subscription was submitted to the people and as an additional precaution, the charter was re-enacted by two successive Legislatures. The bill creating the bank, approved by Governor Lynch, January 1, 1837, so far as the action of the Legislature then in session was concerned, was re-enacted and approved by Governor McNutt, February 5, 1838.<sup>22</sup>

From the contents of the charter it will be seen that the bond issue of the State was originally intended merely as a loan to the bank, that the State was in no sense to be considered a stockholder in the enterprise. But a supplemental act, approved by Governor McNutt, February 15, 1838, provided for

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<sup>22</sup> The original bill passed the Senate by a vote of 11 to 8, and the House by a vote of 49 to 7. It was re-enacted in the Senate by a vote of 17 to 12 and in the House by a vote of 53 to 23.

the subscription of 50,000 shares by the State, the same to be paid out of the proceeds of the bond sale.<sup>23</sup> The dividends and profits accruing to the State on this stock were to be held by the bank in trust for purposes of internal improvement and the promotion of education. Thus, the Union Bank of Mississippi became by the terms of its supplemental charter, the purest and most elaborate type of the system of State banking in America. Several other Southern and Western States (notably Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana and Illinois), had adopted this system, but none could boast of Mississippi's stock subscription of \$5,000,000.

In the Baltimore "Transcript," of April 26, 1838, is found this interesting item: "Major John S. Gooch, agent of the Mississippi Union Bank, left Washington yesterday, with the engravings and materials necessary for the bank. On his arrival the State bonds will be executed for five million of dollars and disposed of at once; and when the ten million in addition to this are subscribed, the State will issue its bonds for ten millions more, to be likewise disposed of." During the spring of 1838, the first bond block of \$5,000,000 was duly executed by the Governor and delivered to the President and Directors of the bank. At a meeting of the Directors, held in Jackson, May 17, 1838, Col. James C. Wilkins, of Natchez; William M. Pinckard, of Vicksburg, and Edward C. Wilkinson, of Yazoo City, were appointed commissioners to negotiate the sale of the bonds thus executed.<sup>24</sup>

The result was awaited with breathless anxiety. Finally, on the 18th of August, 1838, the gratifying news reached Jackson that Nicholas Biddle, President of the Great United States bank at Philadelphia, had bought the entire series. The unthinking multitude, little realizing that the sale of those bonds was the first links in the chain of repudiation that was to ruthlessly shackle the credit of future generations, were plunged into a mad delirium of joy. The smoke of great guns filled the capital city with a pillar of cloud by day and bonfires and illuminations lighted it with a pillar of fire by night.

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<sup>23</sup> *Mississippi Laws*, 1824-1838, pp. 784-792.

<sup>24</sup> Files of the *Mississippi Daily Free Trader*, Natchez, May 21, 1838.

In due course of time the \$5,000,000 in specie and British gold arrived by ocean steamer at New Orleans; thence by river steamer at Vicksburg, thence by a guarded caravan of wagons to Jackson, where the central office was located on a plot of ground now occupied by E. S. Virden's store. Major Millsaps relates that the oldest citizens yet remember the crowds of people assembled along the line of the dirt road from Vicksburg to Jackson to witness the wagon train, as it moved along its burdensome way to the State capital.<sup>25</sup>

From the day of its opening the Union Bank was foredoomed by reckless management to a dismal and dishonorable failure. Terms of loans were made easy to borrowers, and the worst possible judgment was displayed in making advances. Ex-Governor Lowry observes, in this connection, that "the system of loans on mortgages of real and personal property, prescribed in the act of incorporation, for twelve months, renewable for eight years upon the payment of the interest and one-eighth of the principal, at the end of each twelve months, would have wrecked the Bank of England."<sup>26</sup>

In spite of the fact that the issue of post notes was illegally resorted to in order to tide over a suspension of the specie payments, the bank and its six branches unwisely increased their issues until in April, 1840, they amounted to \$3,337,665. Other banks vied with the Union Bank in the manufacture of credit, so that at the close of 1839 the twenty-six banks of Mississippi professed to have a paid-up capital of \$30,379,403, loans and discounts of \$48,333,728, deposits and deposit certificates of \$8,691,602, and a circulation of \$15,171,640.<sup>27</sup> As the census of 1840 showed the free white population of the State to be only 178,677, the alleged paid-up capital equalled \$170 per capita, loans and discounts of \$270, deposits and deposit certificates \$49 and circulation nearly \$85. Small wonder is it that banks making these fictitious statements on the basis of watered stock and worthless circulation should refuse an examination of their affairs by the three commissioners empowered by the Legislature to investigate the condition of the State banks.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Proceedings of the Mississippi Bankers' Association*, 1894, p. 18.

<sup>26</sup> Lowry and McCardle's *History of Mississippi*, p. 287.

<sup>27</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1840, p. 38.

<sup>28</sup> For provisions of this Legislative Act, approved May 12, 1837 (Cf. *Mississippi Laws*, 1824-1838, pp. 697-700).

There now appears on the scene the Martin Van Buren of Mississippi finance, a man who waged relentless warfare against the system of State banking in general and the Union Bank in particular, even to the doubtful extremity of advocating the repudiation of State bonds in order to correct the unsound finance which made bond issues necessary, a man of resolute conviction and fearless utterance, who, like the "Barnburners" of American politics, would fire the barn in order to catch the rat, a man who was more patriotic than he was popular, and more of a Democrat than a demagogue—Alexander G. McNutt.

At the very threshold of his administration Governor McNutt vetoed a bill to incorporate the Real Estate Banking Company of Columbus, on the ground that the circulation of the twenty-four banks of the State was already in excess of the volume of business, that their issues were not convertible into coin, and that the creation of another bank to "procrastinate for years the resumption of specie payments, destroy confidence, break up the standard of values and weigh down the planting and commercial interests by the intolerable evils of a fluctuating, depreciated currency," would be adding insult to injury.<sup>29</sup>

But the shibboleth of his crusade against the Union Bank was not sounded until his annual message of January 17, 1840, referring to its management, the Governor said:

"I am induced to believe that a large portion of the property accepted as security for the stock is encumbered by judgments, mortgages and deeds of trust; that the valuations of the appraisers were generally very extravagant; that in many instances the titles to the property offered are yet imperfect, and that the whole management of the affairs of the bank has been disastrous to its credit, destructive to the interests of the State, and ruinous to the institution. The cotton advanced upon the bank, in some instances, has been attached and the suits decided against the institution. Many of the cotton agents and consignees are defaulters, and great loss on the cotton account is inevitable. The post-notes, issued in violation of law, have greatly depreciated, and if the decisions of several of our circuit judges are affirmed by the High Court of Errors and Appeals,

<sup>29</sup>For veto message of Feb. 15, 1838 (*Cf. of Mississippi Daily Free Trader*, Natchez, Feb. 27, 1838).

actions cannot be maintained on a large portion of the bills receivable of the bank. \* \* \* On the 18th of November, 1839, I received a letter from the cashier of the bank, together with two resolutions of the directors, one of which informed me that the remaining five million and a half of bonds were ready for my signature. Believing that there was no immediate prospect of a sale of the bonds, and that further legislation might be required, I determined to execute the remaining bonds.

\* \* \* The faith of the State is pledged for the whole capital stock, and the property of all her citizens may hereafter be taxed to make up its losses and defalcations. The right of the people therefore to know the conduct of all its agents, and the liabilities of every one of its debtors, cannot be questioned."

The Governor estimates the liabilities of the Union Bank then due at \$249,696; the amount due and payable during the months of April and May, 1840, at \$3,919,992; and the amount due in January, 1841, at \$43,261—making a total aggregate of \$4,290,880.

"To pay the residue," continues the message, "the bank has five millions of dollars of State bonds, and exchange bills receivable, etc., to make the amount of nine millions of dollars. The State bonds cannot be sold, and a sufficient sum cannot be realized in time, out of the other assets of the bank to pay the post-notes due next April and May. It will take more than \$250,000 of the available funds of the bank to pay in London the interest on the State bonds previous to the first of September next. \* \* \* The Union Bank has certainly failed to answer the purposes of its creation, and I feel confident that even with the most able and prudent management, it can never be made useful. \* \* \* I have come to the conclusion that it is our duty to place the institution either in liquidation, or to repeal all that portion of the charter giving to private individuals stock in the bank and privileged loans. The State debt already amounts to about seven and a half millions of dollars. The interest on seven millions is payable abroad and amounts to three hundred and seventy thousand dollars annually. The rights of the stockholders are yet inchoate, and until the residue of the bonds are sold, they can have no peculiar claims. \* \* \* I am bound to recommend that the five millions of the State bonds last issued shall be called in and cancelled, and that no

more shall be hereafter issued for the Mississippi Union Bank."

In this message the Governor further recommended an immediate repeal of the charters of all the banks that did not promptly fulfill their obligations to note holders and depositors. Said he: "The existing banks cannot be bolstered up. Destitute as they are of credit and available means, it would be folly in us to attempt to infuse vigor and stability into their lifeless forms. They are powerless to do good, but capable of inflicting injuries irreparable. \* \* \* All [the banks] are, in effect, in a state of suspension; many of them have issued post-notes; several have been established in fraud, and none of them are now useful. \* \* \* It no doubt will be contended, if we repeal our bank charters, that the State will be deprived of a circulation, and that the exchanges of the country cannot be carried on. This argument is more specious than solid. Our annual export of fifteen millions of dollars will command a sound currency. Money will then become a standard of value and not be used as an article of traffic. The expense of producing cotton will be reduced at least fifty per cent., whereas the price in foreign markets will not be diminished. Foreign creditors will be contented with a similar amount in good funds, than they now exact in depreciated trash."

The Governor estimates the banking liabilities of the State at this time at \$62,840,365, and the assets at \$67,810,805. Of these assets the amount of the "suspended debt" and the "suspended debt in suit" amounted to \$16,972,937, while the banks held \$31,360,790 in the form of "notes and bills discounted," representing doubtful collections of \$48,333,727. These, while there was a nominal excess of resources over liabilities of nearly \$5,000,000, their worthless nature gave the note holder and depositor little security.

In concluding his message the Governor sounded this striking keynote in his campaign against State banking: "A system that requires a veil to be thrown over its operations, that has the power of raising and depressing the price of property at pleasure, that can either by design or through mismanagement greatly depreciate our circulating medium, can never be made beneficial."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1840, pp. 33-35.

The attack upon the Union Bank thus begun was vigorously followed up in Governor McNutt's next message, bearing date of January 5, 1841.<sup>21</sup> In a most virulent manner, he assailed the validity of the sale of the State bonds, issued to pay for the subscription of stock subscribed by the State.

Referring to the three great institutions in which the State was a stockholder, he said: "The situation and affairs of the Mississippi Railroad Company, the Planters' Bank of the State and of the Mississippi Union Bank, will demand your calm consideration. All these institutions are insolvent, and neither of them can resume specie payment for several years or make further loans. The Union Bank has \$4,349 of specie on hand. Her suspended debt in suit is \$2,698,869; suspended debt not sued on \$1,777,337; resources, chiefly unavailable, \$8,033,154; immediate liabilities, \$3,034,154; capital stock, \$5,000,000. \* \* \* Not more than one-third of the debt due the bank will be collected, and the whole capital stock has already been lost. The bank has several thousand bales of cotton in Liverpool unsold, on which it has drawn \$267,116. An advance of sixty dollars per bale was made to the planters upon that cotton in 1838. They will sustain a clear loss, including interest, of thirty dollars per bale; equal, in the aggregate, to \$210,000. The bank has been irretrievably ruined by making advances upon cotton, issuing post-notes, and loaning the principal portion of her capital to insolvent individuals and companies. The situation of the Mississippi Railroad Company and the Planters' Bank is equally as bad."

As an heroic remedy for the bankruptcy of a commonwealth that now bore the additional burden of defaulted interest, Governor McNutt favored the repudiation of the Union Bank bonds, urging the following reasons as sufficient to prevent their sale from having any obligatory force on the State: (1) The Bank of the United States was prohibited by its charter from purchasing such stock either directly or indirectly. (2) It was fraudulent on the part of the bank, inasmuch as the contract was made in the name of an individual, when, in fact, it was for the benefit of the bank, and payment was made with its funds. (3) The sale was illegal, inasmuch as the bonds were sold

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<sup>21</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1841, pp. 21-26.

on a credit. (4) Interest to the amount of about \$170,000 having accrued on those bonds before the purchase money was stipulated to be all paid, the bonds were in fact sold at less than their par value, in direct violation of the charter of the bank.

The special committee, to which that part of the Governor's message relating to the repudiation of the bonds was referred, reported unfavorably, and resolutions declaring that "the character, the standing and true glory of the State depend upon the sacred inviolability of its engagements," and that both the Union and Planters' bonds should be paid, principal and interest, passed the Senate and House by the decisive majorities of 20 to 10 and 50 to 30, respectively.<sup>82</sup> In the debates on these resolutions, the sentiment in favor of paying the Planters' bonds seemed stronger than that in favor of paying the Union bonds, probably due to the fact that the Planters' bonds had been sold for *money* to the amount and of the kind authorized by law, while the Union bonds had been sold on *credit*. As the friends of both banks made common cause in their fight against repudiation, this difference of sentiment is only revealed in the committee report and subsequent discussion, not in the vote.

Not to be baffled in his crusade against the system of State banking, on February 15, 1842, Governor McNutt vetoed the anti-repudiation resolutions in a message of great ability, in which he took the broad ground that "the people have not delegated to the Senate and House of Representatives the power of ratifying an illegal sale of State bonds, and pledging their faith for the payment or redemption of any loan or debt whatever."<sup>83</sup> Public opinion, the force that makes and unmakes constitutions in a sovereign republic, was made the initiative referendum, the question of repudiation was taken out of the legislature and made the principal plank in the platform of the two great political parties.

In the gubernatorial campaign of 1841, Tilghman M. Tucker was nominated by the Democracy as a repudiator, and after an exciting campaign was elected by a majority of 2,286 over Judge David O. Shattuck, who had been nominated by the Whigs on an anti-repudiation platform. An examination of the tabulated

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<sup>82</sup> For resolutions Cf. *Mississippi House Journal*, 1841, p. 416.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 491-504.



vote for Governor by counties shows that the repudiators were uniformly successful in the poor and sparsely settled agricultural districts of the State, while heavy majorities against repudiation were returned in Adams, Hinds, Madison and Warren counties, that represented the bulk of the State's population and taxable property.<sup>34</sup> The best and most intelligent voters, with a feeling of wounded honesty, refused even to discuss the question of the legality of the bond sale, basing their advocacy of payment on the broad ground, "The faith of the State, like her sovereignty, is sacred—it must be preserved."

With their whole State ticket elected and a majority in both branches of the Legislature, the repudiators proceeded to follow up their victory in a most masterful manner. In his inaugural address, delivered January 13, 1842, Governor Tucker took the very plausible Jacksonian position that the question of repudiation had been settled in the affirmative by the highest tribunal known to free governments: "I mean the people themselves; they having decided in effect that the transactions connected with the Union Bank, both in its inception and final consummation, were not governmental, but were on the contrary individual transactions, performed, not only without the authority of the Constitution of the State, but contrary to the express provisions thereof."<sup>35</sup>

In this address and in his message to the Legislature of July 10, 1843, Governor Tucker tempered the intoxicated spirit of repudiation abroad in the land by holding that there was no ground, either legal or moral, why the bonds of the Planters', as distinguished from the Union Bank, should not be paid, inasmuch as they were executed under the sanction of constitutional authority and were expressly exempted from the operation of the famous ninth section of Article seven of the Constitution of 1832.<sup>36</sup> The victorious repudiators in the Legislature tacitly subscribed by omission to the position of the Governor that the bonds of the Planters' Bank were inviolable; but, because of this concession were more eager than ever to gather

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<sup>34</sup> For tabulated vote by counties Cf. *Mississippi House Journal*, 1842, p. 263.

<sup>35</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1842, p. 374.

<sup>36</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1842, p. 375; also *Senate Journal*, 1843, p. 29.

the fruits of the signal victory they had won in the Fall over the Union Bank.

So on February 18, 1842, scarcely a month after the new administration had gone into office, there passed by the impressive majorities of 16 to 10 in the Senate and 54 to 37 in the House, the famous repudiation resolution reported by the special committee in the Mississippi Union Bank bonds. This resolution, the darkest spot on the legislative escutcheon of our State, the "Black and Tan Convention" not excepted, is worded as follows: "That for the reasons set forth in the foregoing report, this Legislature denies that the State of Mississippi is under any legal or moral obligation to redeem the five millions of bonds, sold by the commissioners of the Mississippi Union Bank to Nicholas Biddle on the 18th day of August, 1838. But while the Legislature does most solemnly repudiate said bonds, and declare the sale thereof as illegal, fraudulent and unconstitutional, yet, that the holders of those bonds may have every possible legal and equitable remedy for collecting the amount paid on said bonds, they are hereby invited to pursue the remedy afforded by our laws and Constitution against the Mississippi Union Bank and against all and every person who, by his, her or their connection with said institution, have rendered him, her or themselves liable, either in law or equity, for the debts of said bank."<sup>87</sup>

From the moment of the passage of the repudiation resolution in 1842, an earnest effort was made to right the wrong that had been done by having the sale of the Union bonds declared legally valid. This effort was crowned with success in 1853, when the High Court of Appeals and Errors, in the famous case of the State of Mississippi *vs.* Hezron Johnson, unanimously decided that nothing could absolve the State from the liability assumed in the act chartering the Union Bank.<sup>88</sup> However, this decision was nullified the same year by a vote of the people repudiating the Planters', as well as the Union bonds, and was given its "*coup de grace*" by the Constitution of 1890, which expressly prohibits the payment of any indebtedness al-

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<sup>87</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1842, p. 734.

<sup>88</sup> *Mississippi Reports*, Vol. XXV, pp. 625-882.

<sup>89</sup> Section 258, Article XIV.

leged to be due by the State of Mississippi to the Union and Planters' Banks.<sup>39</sup> This indebtedness consists of \$2,000,000 of Planters' Bank bonds and \$5,000,000 of Union Bank bonds.

There can be but little doubt that the bond repudiation by the State has impaired her credit abroad and increased the cost of obtaining money accommodations for her people. Major Millsaps makes the very significant statement in this connection, that "the people of Mississippi have more than paid the entire bonded cost and charges of interest, compounded and commission charges for acceptance and advances."

But while the remedy of repudiation was heroic and has no ethical justification, it must be remembered that the disease of wildcat banking was virulent, and the desperation of the people over the perpetration of gigantic frauds was great. On the 30th day of November, 1842, the year in which the Union Bank bonds were repudiated, the report of the State Treasurer, as made to the Legislature, shows a balance in the Treasury of \$302,956, consisting of the Attorney General's receipts for claims on the notorious Brandon and other broken banks for the sum of \$238,102, the notes of the insolvent Mississippi Railroad Company for \$63,030, the notes of the Mississippi Union Bank for \$1,800, the notes of the Hernando Railroad Company for \$20, Jackson corporation tickets \$3.65, and specie in the sum of 34 cents! At the same time there existed claims against the State exceeding \$8,000,000.

Henry V. Poor does not picture the direful results of State banking in Mississippi in too sombre hues, where, referring to the collapse of the Union Bank, he says: "The \$48,000,000 of loans were never paid; the \$23,000,000 of notes and deposits never redeemed. The whole system fell a huge and shapeless wreck, leaving the people of the State very much as they came into the world. Their condition at the time beggars description. Everybody was in debt, without any possible means of payment. Lands became worthless, for the reason that no one had any money to pay for them. The only personal property left was slaves, to save which such numbers of people fled with them from the State that the common return upon legal processes against debtors was in the very abbreviated form of

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<sup>39</sup> *Mississippi Senate Journal*, 1843, p. 26.

"G. T. T.," gone to Texas—a State which in this way received a mighty accession to her population."<sup>41</sup>

Surely the author of "The Age of Rags" was not altogether dealing in ribaldry when he sang:

How transcendently blessed are we at this time,  
When each paper-mill serves as a mint;  
Where crafty imposters so cordially chime  
To give us out dollars in print.

Of our rags speculators triumphantly boast,  
Nor need it to any be told,  
Empty credit remains both their glory and toast,  
Since it supersedes silver and gold.

But if rags should fall short in the grand operation,  
And bankruptcy come with disgrace,  
Let impudence follow with kind asseveration,  
And substitute brass in their place.

While honesty yields to the dog-star's dominion,  
Bank directors must needs do their best;  
While folly imposes on public opinion,  
Be sure to well feather your nest.

Those silky bank tokens to represent gold  
Will prove the hot poker at last;  
Your houses and lots will most surely be sold,  
And leave you to mourn for the past.

When the Union Bank, the middle pillar in the temple of State financiering, was pulled down by the Samson of repudiation in 1842, the imposing yet unsafe structure totally collapsed. And of repudiation it may be said, as it was said of Samson, that "the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life." For, although a few foreign creditors suffered a short time from the application of the principle of *caveat emptor* while repudiation was yet a living issue, countless resident citizens suffered for over forty years a deadening of banking and business faculties when repudiation had become practically a dead issue.

The lethargy and laxity characteristic of the period from 1842, the date of the repudiation, to 1865, when national banks were first established in Mississippi, was but the working out of a natural law in the banking world. It was but natural that retrenchment should have followed inflation; that Governor Brown, in his message of 1844, should have proposed that the

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<sup>41</sup> Henry V. Poor: *Money and its Laws*, p. 540.

State henceforth be absolved from all connection with banks and bonds;<sup>43</sup> that brokers and cotton factors should have made all advances upon crops and left note-issuing banks no excuse for incorporation.

If we except the bank of Britton & Koontz, in Natchez, Green's Bank, in Jackson, and similar institutions in Vicksburg and Yazoo City, it may be said of the period immediately preceding the Civil War that deposit and discount functions were monopolized by brokers. These brokers shaved paper, charged most outrageous rates for money, and, with the greed of Shylocks, exacted 100 per cent. mortgage prices for plantation supplies. During the war the evils of this banking anarchy were multiplied by the issue of worthless cotton certificates, Confederate currency and counterfeits. Depreciation stalked abroad in a devastated land.

Political union has brought in its train financial unity. Nationalization has induced the establishment of a system of national banking. Thus, out of the dead chrysalis of prejudice there have come into life in Mississippi since 1865 twelve national banks, representing an aggregate capital stock of \$800,000.

These banks are located at Aberdeen, Greenville, Hattiesburg, Jackson, Meridian, Tupelo, Vicksburg, West Point and Yazoo City. In addition to the twelve national banks, the Auditor's report for 1899 shows that on the 30th day of June of that year there were ninety-two private banks in Mississippi, representing a paid-up capital stock of \$3,782,530, deposits of \$9,809,082, and loans and discounts of \$9,567,191.<sup>44</sup> These banks are uniting the force of their conservation and capital to develop our home markets, to create interior centers of trade distribution, to secure lower interest rates to our farmers, to give premium prices for our municipal, county and State bonds.

Well do the present generation of Mississippi bankers, prizing conservatism above confusion and unity of issue above the mirage of inflation, merit the stately eulogy of Conkling upon Grant, "Great in the arduous greatness of things done."

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<sup>43</sup> *Mississippi House Journal*, 1844, p. 204.

<sup>44</sup> *Biennial Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts*, 1898-99, pp. 142-143.

## ORIGIN AND LOCATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI A. & M. COLLEGE.

By J. M. WHITE.<sup>1</sup>

The first agricultural schools of which we have any knowledge originated in Europe, and the date which marks the origin of these schools was 1807. They seem to have grown out of the conception that it is proper and altogether rational "for boys to learn that which they will want to practice when they are men;" and at a time when, because of devastating wars, agricultural lands were taxed to their utmost. The fact is that under the then existing circumstances the point of diminishing returns in agriculture had been reached or was near at hand, and the only hope of escape from so perilous a condition was through progressive agriculture. To make the improvements in methods and processes in agriculture commensurate with the ever increasing demands on the soil of an ever increasing popu-

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. White was born in Lawrence county, Miss., and was the third son of a family of six boys. His father, Capt. J. F. White, was a successful farmer and a public-spirited citizen. He was one of the original stockholders of the Mississippi Mills, but later sold his interest and invested in a factory at Beauregard to manufacture lumber, furniture, sash, doors, blinds, &c. In 1871 he moved his family to that place. On April 22, 1883, the terrible cyclone which swept over the little village robbed Capt. White of a loving, Christian wife, a son, George, and all he had accumulated of this world's goods. His wife was Sarah Emily, daughter of Jno. J. Mikell, who came to Mississippi from Georgia in the early part of the century, and was one of the very first settlers in Lawrence county.

In the fall of 1880, Mr. White entered the A. and M. College, which had just opened its doors for the reception of students. He graduated with distinction in June, 1884, taking the B. S. degree. Two years later he took the M. S. degree. At this time and for several years thereafter he ate tutorial bread, first as instructor in the Preparatory department, and then as assistant in the department of English. In 1892 the board of trustees of that institution elected Mr. White to the newly created chair of History and Civics, which position he still fills with credit. He has been a member of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Historical Society since its reorganization in 1898, and has contributed to the second volume of its *Publications*. He has done graduate work in Rutgers and in the University of Chicago. In 1896 he married Miss Mary Ella Hearn, of West Point.—EDITOR.

lation was then, is to-day, and will ever be a great problem. But be these things as they may, the ideas underlying agricultural schools have grown wonderfully during the century of their existence.

In 1840, Liebig in Germany announced a scientific truth which contributed greatly to the spread of agricultural schools. It was this: "That no matter how impoverished the soil is naturally, or has become by excessive cropping, its fertility may be restored, maintained, and even increased by providing it with the mineral and organic matter which it lacks." Ten years after this announcement agricultural schools were to be found, varying in grade from an institute to a college, in almost every state and hamlet in Europe,<sup>2</sup> and the idea had crossed the Atlantic and several of the States of the American Union as early as 1860, notably, Michigan, Iowa, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, had agricultural schools, and one at least of the leading universities in America was giving lecture courses in the science of agriculture.<sup>3</sup> A bill, too, had been introduced in Congress to appropriate land to the several States and territories to encourage the establishment in each of an agricultural and mechanical college. This bill passed both Houses, but was vetoed by President Buchanan. The matter did not long rest here, for in 1862 a bill very similar, if not an exact copy of the one vetoed by President Buchanan, passed both Houses of Congress, and was approved by President Lincoln on July the second of that year.

The Mississippi A. and M. College, in common with most of the other A. and M. Colleges of this country, owes its origin primarily to this act of Congress. It donated to each State 30,000 acres of land for each Senator and Representative, to which the State was entitled by the apportionment under the census of 1860. Mississippi's total delegation in Congress at the time was seven, and the total number of acres of land (represented by land scrip), she could claim under said act was 210,000.

On October the 30th, 1866, Mississippi formally accepted the

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<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hitchcock, President of Amherst College, gave a list of three hundred and fifty-two such schools in Europe in 1850.

<sup>3</sup> Yale.

grant<sup>4</sup>, but when application was made the scrip was not issued on the ground that the State was late applying for same. Other legislation was necessary, and in May, 1871, the Legislature passed an Act authorizing the Governor to receive the land scrip representing 210,000 acres, and to give all necessary receipts for same. Section 2 of this act authorized the sale of said scrip; that it should be sold for cash, at a rate not less than sixty cents on the dollar, and that the proceeds accruing from said sale should be invested immediately after its sale in bonds of the United States or of the State of Mississippi, bearing interest at not less than five per cent.<sup>5</sup>

There seems to have arisen quite early some apprehension in regard to the money arising from the sale of the land scrip; for during the next meeting of the Legislature on February 2, 1872, Mr. Lowry introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives asking that a committee of three be appointed to call on the State Treasurer, and to get from him the amount that said scrip brought when it was sold, and at what date the money was placed in his possession, and all other matters connected therewith, and to report to the House at once. The resolution passed, and a committee composed of Messrs. Robert Lowry, H. T. Fisher and J. J. Spelman was appointed in accordance therewith. The result was a majority and a minority report made on February 26th. The House sustained the majority report, which was made by Messrs. Fisher and Spelman, of the committee. This report embodies a letter from Ex-Gov. Alcorn, which gives interesting information in regard to the funds in question. The Governor relates in this letter "that he had procured at the end of a long struggle, the delivery of the agricultural land scrip due the State; that he had receipted for it and had negotiated the sale. The scrip, he says, was sold on the 21st of September, 1871, to George F. Lewis, of Cleveland, Ohio, at ninety cents per acre, payable in three, six and nine months. Five hundred pieces of this scrip were deposited in the First National Bank of New York, four hundred and sixty-two pieces were deposited in the Merchants' National Bank, at Cleveland, Ohio. That he had placed in Gov. Powers' hands

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<sup>4</sup> *Laws of Mississippi*, 1866-67, p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Education in Mississippi*, Mayes, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> *Laws of Mississippi*, 1871, p. 704.



the evidence of this. Three hundred and sixty pieces were paid for at the date of delivery. This was deposited in bank to the credit of the Governor of Mississippi, and that he had checked out and paid to Gov. Powers thirty thousand dollars of the cash deposits, the balance was in bank subject to his check. He also relates in this letter that the funds realized were not converted into bonds for the reason that the profitable and proper investment of the money required that further legislation should be had. That he had visited Washington City twice and New York once in the interest of this fund, and there need be no nervousness on account of this fund, for it was all safe.<sup>7</sup> The Democrats of the House offered a very vigorous protest to the report which embodied this letter.<sup>8</sup>

The act which authorized the sale of the land scrip provided in Section 5 that the fund arising therefrom should be divided, the University to get two-fifths and Alcorn University (for negroes), to get three-fifths of the same, and that there should be established at the State University a college of agriculture.<sup>9</sup> The spirit of this provision was carried out, and the Board of Trustees of the University established the college under the title of School of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. It was the third school under the department of professional education as the University was then organized.<sup>10</sup> At this time Dr. John N. Waddell was Chancellor, and the regular faculty of this school of agriculture and mechanic arts was made up of the following distinguished educators: The Chancellor, Prof. C. W. Sears, Prof. L. C. Garland, Dr. George Little, Dr. E. W. Hilgard and Dr. J. A. Lyon, and in the list of the adjunct professors of this faculty of thirty years ago we note the names, A. H. Whitfield, R. B. Fulton and Dr. M. W. Phillips. An excellent course

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<sup>7</sup> *Journal of House of Representatives*, 1872. See also communication of State Treasurer W. L. Hemingway to Halliday and Finch, Ithaca, N. Y., published in a pamphlet, entitled *History of the Agricultural College Land Grant* of July 2, 1862, for particulars regarding the amount of Scrip actually received and how the fund arising from the sale of said Scrip was early judiciously invested.

<sup>8</sup> Should the reader or the future investigator care to look further into this matter he can find the protest on page 353, *Journal House of Representatives* of the State, 1872, and also other interesting matter in this connection on pages 362 and 373 in the same *Journal*.

<sup>9</sup> *Laws of Mississippi*, 1871, p. 704.

<sup>10</sup> *Catalogue of University*.

of study was provided and the school opened for the reception of students on October 2, 1872.<sup>11</sup>

The college farm was under the direction of Dr. M. W. Phillips, of whom Chancellor Waddell at the time wrote: "Whose name has been identified with the cause of Rational and Progressive Agriculture in the Southwest for thirty-five or forty years, and whose zeal and services in this behalf are too well known to render further comment necessary."<sup>12</sup> By the end of the first session the farm had been selected on the University section, and ninety acres had been enclosed under a substantial plank fence with cedar posts, and an additional field of about sixteen acres was under cultivation in the various articles of produce, such as cotton, corn, Hungarian grass, Lucern, sweet and Irish potatoes. A large number of fruit trees had been set out, embracing a general selection of varieties and a very select collection of roses had also been procured, with the view of exhibiting the choicest varieties of flowers as well as of fruits.<sup>13</sup> Yet, with all these advantages: A strong and distinguished faculty, an excellent course of study, a farm well and conveniently located, and "in every way adapted to the purposes of the Department of Agriculture, Horticulture and Botany,"<sup>14</sup> this school of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts under the surroundings and environments of the University was not popular or attractive to students, consequently, comparatively few registered for work in that college, and during the six years of its existence in connection with the University no evidence is found that a single student took the entire course or that a single graduate was turned out. After 1876 for lack of funds to properly equip the farm it was abandoned.<sup>15</sup>

There were those, possibly not a few, who were never pleased that the University should get this land scrip fund, which fund it was argued could only be used by schools "whose leading object was to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." These men did not become reconciled, and as a matter of fact various random charges were

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<sup>11</sup> *Catalogue of University*, 1873.

<sup>12</sup> *Catalogue of University*, 1873.

<sup>13</sup> *Catalogue of University*, 1873.

<sup>14</sup> *Catalogue of University*, 1873.

<sup>15</sup> *History of Education in Mississippi*, Mayes, pp. 173 and 174.

brought, and these charges doubtless had influence, not a little, in moulding public sentiment favoring the establishment of an Aricultural and Mechanical College independent of the University. There is one name in this connection especially deserving of mention. It is that of Capt. Put Darden, then a citizen of Jefferson county in the State of Mississippi, and for a long time President of the National Grange. It was he who went into possibly every county of the State, speaking in behalf of the farm and progressive agriculture, and urging always as a means to this end the establishment of an A. and M. College. The farmers of this country have erected a monument to his memory and in accord with the fitness of things this shaft stands on the campus of our State Agricultural and Mechanical College.

The first organized effort looking to the establishment of such a college was made by the State Grange. At a meeting of that order in Jackson, Mississippi, on December 12, 1876, Hon. J. B. Yellowly, of Madison county, asked that a committee of five be appointed to consider the expediency and practicability of establishing an agricultural college in this State. The committee was appointed and four days later made this report: "We would respectfully recommend that a special committee be appointed to draw a plan in accordance with which a purely agricultural and mechanical college may be established under the auspices of the State Grange, and that this committee submit said plans to the State Legislature at its next session, with a memorial petitioning that body to appropriate for the use of such an institution the interest arising from the agricultural land scrip fund, and also procure such other legislation upon the subject as may be proper and necessary." The committee was made up of Hon. J. B. Yellowly, of Madison county; Dr. D. L. Phares, of Wilkinson county; W. W. Troup, of Monroe county; M. C. Pegues, of Lafayette, and J. F. Thompson, ————. Mr. Yellowly was chairman, and at the suggestion of the committee prepared the memorial which as a member of the Legislature he presented at the next session (1877). During this session he also prepared and introduced a bill for the establishment of an A. and M. College. This bill failed to pass, though supported by a number of influential members, such as Gen. W. S. Featherston, Judge Bell, of Kemper county, and Col. H. M.

Street. In December of this same year the State Grange met in annual session at Holly Springs, and the following resolution was introduced by Mr. John Robertson, of DeSoto county: (I quote it to show the feeling and the earnestness permeating the Grange in the matter of establishing an A. and M. College): "We insist that the Legislature of the State shall establish an agricultural college in accordance with the intention of the act of Congress appropriating the proceeds of the sale of public land in this State for that purpose, and that no further delay nor frittering away of the fund will be quietly tolerated by the agriculturists of the State."

In these demands the Grange was backed by Article 8, Sec. 8, of the State Constitution of 1869, which provides that the Legislature should establish an agricultural college or colleges as soon as practicable.

I have said that the Mississippi A. and M. College owes its origin primarily to the Congressional act of 1862. In the light of the resolutions just quoted, I believe I may say with historic accuracy that this college owes its origin secondarily to the organized action of the farmers themselves at whose solicitation and in whose interest the college was established and is maintained.

The following letter was published in the "*Clarion*," Jackson, April the 24th, 1878. It is of interest because of the history it gives of the Legislative act authorizing the establishment of the college:

Okolona, Miss.,  
April 22, 1878.

*Editor Clarion:* The recent session of the Trustees of the Agricultural and Mechanical College reminds me of a duty neglected. The day before the adjournment of the last Legislature, an article appeared in your daily, giving Gen. West in the Senate, and myself in the House, all the credit attaching to the passage of the Agricultural College Bill. It is true each of us did all he could to pass the bill through our respective Houses, but it originated with neither of us.

A bill had been introduced in the Legislature of 1877, by the Hon. J. B. Yellowly, of Madison county, to organize an Agricultural College, and was afterwards perfected by a special committee, of which Gen. Featherston was Chairman. This bill failed to pass at that session. At the opening of the session of 1878, I wrote Mr. Yellowly for a copy of his Agricultural College bill, and he kindly sent me the original. This I re-wrote, changed in some unimportant particulars, and introduced in the House. Gen. West, being interested, like myself, in the passage of such a bill, applied to me for it, while it was before the House Judiciary Committee, copied it, making changes to suit his views, and introduced it in the Senate. The body of the bill, which be-

came a law, is the same as was prepared and introduced by Mr. Yellowly in 1877, and to him belongs the credit, if any there be. I make this disclaimer for myself and Gen. West, as I am sure neither of us proposed to profit by the labors and research of another, without giving him due credit therefor.

Respectfully,

W. F. Tucker.

I here take up the second heading of my subject: The location of the college. The law which authorized the establishment of the college also authorized the appointment of a board of nine trustees to govern the same. This law made it the duty of the Governor of the State, who was to be ex-officio president of the board, to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, the men who should constitute the Board. The Governor acted promptly, and the first Board of Trustees of the new institution was as follows: Gov. J. M. Stone, ex-officio President; Gen. A. M. West, Dr. D. L. Phares, Hon. C. L. Gilmer, Hon. W. B. Montgomery, Hon. J. M. Causey, Maj. L. B. Brown, Hon. W. B. Augustus, Hon. Frank Burkitt, and Maj. T. C. Dockery. These men at once took up the responsible work, and among their first duties was the important one of selecting a location for the college. At the first meeting of the Board, which was held in the Senate Chamber, Jackson, April 11, 1878, all the members were present except Maj. Dockery. They took the oath of office, which was administered by Judge J. A. P. Campbell, and Mr. Burkitt was elected Secretary of the Board.

In accordance with the law, the Board selected three newspapers published in the State in which to advertise for at least sixty days for bids for the location. The papers selected were "The Clarion," "Chickasaw Messenger" and Pascagoula "Democrat-Star." The "Winona Advance" and "Enterprise Courier" offered their columns free of charge for such advertising, and the board requested all papers of the State friendly to the college to give publicity to the desire of the Board for a suitable location.

On July the 24th, 1878, the Board held its second meeting. It met this time in the parlors of the Ragsdale House, Meridian. The sealed bids were then and there opened and examined, the chief ones of which are as follows: Meridian offered the Board choice of three tracts of land, the first containing five hundred

and twenty acres, the second one hundred and sixty acres, the third two hundred acres. Macon proposed to give one hundred and sixty acres for a site and invited the Board to visit the county before locating the college. West Point's bid was twenty thousand dollars, city subscription, payable in eight annual installments as per ordinance, and ten thousand dollars private subscription, making a total of thirty thousand dollars, or school buildings and lands valued at thirty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, the Board of Trustees to pay ten thousand three hundred and forty dollars of the money. Starkville offered in private subscription and lands twelve thousand nine hundred and eighty dollars. Aberdeen offered sixteen thousand five hundred and fifteen dollars in notes of solvent citizens of the city and county, payable in installments. This bid was to be increased to twenty thousand dollars by the donation of buildings and grounds, and in addition to this to pay the Board one thousand dollars annually provided the male white children of the city should be taught in preparatory departments, tuition free. Verona's bid was seventeen thousand dollars, as follows: North Mississippi College building and grounds and two hundred and forty acres of land, all valued at thirteen thousand dollars, and four thousand dollars in cash. Tupelo proposed to give ten thousand dollars in money and a quarter section of land. Okolona offered school buildings and grounds valued at ten thousand dollars and sixteen thousand dollars in city bonds, payable in installments. Quitman offered a hundred and sixty acres and one thousand dollars in cash for the location at Archusa Springs. Mississippi City offered choice of three tracts of land, one hundred and sixty acres in each. Summit and McComb City jointly offered four hundred and forty acres of land lying between the two towns and six thousand dollars in cash, a hundred and fifty thousand feet of lumber, two thousand acres of land in Pike county, with some other inducements. Crystal Springs offered ten thousand dollars in cash. Kosciusko offered a hundred and sixty acres of land and ten thousand dollars cash. Winona offered eight thousand dollars private subscription.<sup>18</sup>

The next day after the examination of these bids the Board

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<sup>18</sup> *Records Board of Trustees, Miss. A. & M. College.*

started in a special train furnished free of charge to visit the various places competing for the location of the college. This tour of inspection embraced the last days of July and the first day of August, 1878. The Board then adjourned, having agreed to meet on September the 10th to settle upon the location, but this meeting was, owing to the prevalence of yellow fever, deferred till December 13th. On this day they met in the Governor's office, Jackson. All the members of the Board were present except Gen. West. Representatives from the various places bidding for the location were permitted to go before the Board to explain, add to, or to alter the previous bid from their respective towns. Under this provision Capt. R. M. Leavell appeared in behalf of Verona, Hon. Fred. G. Barry in behalf of West Point, Col. A. G. Horn in behalf of Quitman, Hon. J. W. Fewell in behalf of Meridian, and the Secretary of the Board in behalf of Okolona. This done and the record has it: The Board then proceeded to ballot for a location, which resulted in the selection of Starkville.<sup>17</sup>

In order to get a more detailed account of this matter, I wrote the members of the old Board who are now living, asking them, in the interest of the history of the college, to supply me with such information. From the replies I quote the following sentences as bearing directly upon the point under discussion: 1. "Those interested along the line of the M. & O. R. R. claimed that in as much as the West had the State University, the East was entitled to the A. and M. Yet the West entered the contest, and nominated several places along the line of the I. C. R. R." "There was a mutual agreement by the members of the Board that we would first settle the question as to which side of the State we would locate the college." "It was found that the members were almost united in favor of the East." 2. "We found but three eligible places that apparently showed much desire for the college. These were West Point, Starkville, and Meridian. West Point made, I think, the most liberal offer, so far as money and property were concerned, but it was hedged with conditions we could not accept. It was the favorite place and would have been accepted but for the requirement that the college be within the corporate limits, and that the city have

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<sup>17</sup> *Records Board of Trustees, Miss. A. & M. College.*

some advantages of it as a free school." 3. "Meridian was exceedingly anxious for it, and liberal in its offer, but it was a growing city and soon to be a railroad center with easy access to other cities, with always a considerable floating population, \* \* \* \* \* and we thought the environments not suited for an agricultural college." 4. "Starkville made a liberal offer, and while sufficiently accessible, was a quiet country town, its people and community exceptionally sober and conservative, with a variety of soil, \* \* \* \* \* and Christian influences surrounding our boys, we selected that town." 5. "It will be proper, I suppose, for me to state here, that a majority of the Board favored the city of Meridian up to within a few minutes of the voting, when an unfortunate paragraph in the *Meridian Mercury* ——— appeared and changed the vote of one member, thus giving the choice to Starkville by one majority. The article in question was a positive declaration that the moral environments of Meridian were such that the college ought not to be located there, but ought to go to Archusa Springs, in the county of Clarke."

The next meeting of the Board was held in Starkville on Thursday, April the 3rd, 1879, where the Board remained in session through Friday and Saturday. Thursday and Friday afternoons were spent by the Board in visiting and inspecting the lands in the vicinity of the town offered as a location for the college. One member writes that for this purpose the Board was divided into three divisions, each going a different route, about the place, with instructions to note all the advantages which might induce the selection, and that Messrs. Causey, Burkitt, Gilmer and Brown found the location, which was afterwards accepted by the Board. On Saturday morning, April the fifth, 1879, the Board in a body went out to the Bell tract, and after a careful examination, Messrs. Montgomery, Causey, and Dockery were appointed a Committee, with instructions to call on Mr. Bell and to negotiate a purchase of the land. This they did, and reported to the Board that Mr. Bell would sell three hundred and fifty acres at seven dollars per acre. The Board accepted the report and also Mr. Bell's proposition. Hon. Wiley N. Nash drew the deed, and the trade was made and the college located.





## FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE MISSISSIPPI CHOCTAWS.

By H. S. HALBERT.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Albert James Pickett in his History of Alabama gives an interesting and elaborate account of the burial and funeral customs of the Choctaws of the eighteenth century, this account being collated and compiled from various writers of that century. From a close study of Pickett's authorities, from the scattered hints in other writers, from two writers not accessible to Pickett, and from Choctaw tradition, the writer of this paper has come to the conclusion that the burial and funeral ceremonies of the eighteenth century Choctaws were not always performed in the same manner. While there was a general resemblance in these customs, the evidence seems to show that they varied somewhat in different localities, and at different periods, during the eighteenth century.

The object of this paper is to give the traditional account or version of these ceremonies, as related by some of the modern Choctaws of Mississippi, and thence to follow some of the changes of fashion down to the present day, pointing out, at the

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<sup>1</sup> H. S. Halbert was born in Pickens county, Ala. His parents were of Welsh descent. His mother (*nee* Jane Owen) was the great granddaughter of Rev. William Owen, who, early in the 18th century, with two brothers, emigrated from Wales to Virginia. He eventually left his brothers in Virginia and emigrated to South Carolina. Mr. Halbert's boyhood was spent in Mississippi. He was in a great measure educated in Union University, under the presidency of Joseph H. Eaton. In 1860 and in the early part of 1861 he was in the Texas State troops in campaigns against the Kioways and Comanches. At the outbreak of the war between the States he entered the army of Tennessee and saw continuous service until disabled by a wound received at New Hope, Ga., May 26, 1864. For many years after the war he was a teacher in Texas, Alabama and Mississippi. For several years he was engaged in educational work among the Mississippi Choctaws and did much to elevate and christianize that race. He has written much on historical, ethnological and archaeological subjects, and has contributed many articles to the *American Antiquarian* and to the *American Naturalist*. He is an active member of the Mississippi Historical Society and of the Alabama Historical Society, and has made several contributions to their *Publications*. For a full list of his literary production see Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*.—EDITOR.

same time, any inaccuracies that may be found in writers that have described these Choctaw customs. For clearness of description, in writing of the modern ceremonies, the present tense will be used, and the decadence of any feature of these ceremonies will be especially noted.

The modern Choctaws of Mississippi who are best informed on the ancient usages of their people, state that in the olden time, whenever a Choctaw died, his body, covered with a blanket or bear skin, was placed upon a scaffold about six feet high, which was erected near the house. Benches were then made and placed around the scaffold. Every day the family were wont to seat themselves upon these benches, and with covered heads, for half an hour or more, to bewail the dead. This same sad duty was also performed by any relative or visitor that happened to be present. After some months, when a sufficient number of corpses in the villages of the community have become so thoroughly putrified as to allow a general burial, word to this effect is sent to the "na foni aiowa," "the bone-pickers." This word, which, according to connection, may be singular or plural, properly translated is "bone-gatherer," having reference to this official's *gathering* the bones for burial. Bone-picker, which is here used in deference to general usage, is not the exact translation, and is somewhat misleading. The bone-pickers in all the adjoining towns or communities, on receiving the news that their services are needed, now get together, hold a consultation, and agree upon a day in which all the corpses, from all quarters, are to arrive at the bone-house. Some of the dead may be only a few hours' walk from the bone-house, others may be one or two days' journey. The bone-pickers now give small bundles of split cane, "oski kauwa," to messengers to be carried and given to all the families, far and near. These pieces of cane are about four inches long and the size of a broom-straw, arranged in a bundle and this tied around the middle with a string. Time is measured by these sticks, the receiver every morning throwing away a stick. The time has been so well set that he throws away the last stick on the morning of the burial day. The old-time Choctaws reckoned time by "sleeps," and by throwing away a stick after each night's sleep, no mistake could be made.

When the bone-picker arrives at the house of the deceased, the family, kindred and visitors seat themselves on the mourning benches and go through with their usual weeping and wailing. They then remove the benches, and the bone-picker attends to his office. He first makes the coffin or coffins, ornamenting them to the best of his taste or ability. He then takes down the corpses, with his long finger nails separates the flesh from the bones, scrapes and washes the bones perfectly clean, and puts them in the coffin. Tradition is silent as to the disposition of the decayed flesh and other refuse. According to Bernard Roman's *Florida*, all this was burned. On the contrary, an old Indian countryman, many years ago, informed the writer that it was buried. This last statement seems to be corroborated by the *Journal* of the Rev. Lorenzo Dow, page 220, where under the date of December 24, 1804, he thus writes: "We rode about forty miles through Six Towns of the Choctaws, and whilst we were passing it, I observed where they scaffold the dead, and also the spot where the flesh was buried when the bone-picker had done his office." The probabilities are that some communities may have buried the flesh, while others burned it. Or, as Dow was a later observer, it may be that in his day the fashion was changed, the flesh being buried instead of being burned. In this connection it may not be amiss to call attention to Claiborne's *Mississippi*, page 489, where there is a confusion of the ancient and the modern ceremonies. He states that "the shrivelled integuments stripped off by the bone-pickers were buried in a separate place over which a pole was planted." The shrivelled integuments may have been buried, according to the evidence just cited, but no pole was ever planted over them, nor was there any "pole-pulling" ceremony, for, as will be seen farther on, the pole-planting business and the pole-pulling ceremony were introduced afterwards as new ceremonies, when the old bone-picking custom was abolished by the Choctaws.

According to the number of corpses the bone-pickers may be one or more days at work on their respective tasks. When the work is finished, from each place a procession is formed, and the coffins are borne to the bone-house, whether situated far or near. As has been stated, it is well known on what day all are to meet at the bone-house, and every procession so manages

its business as to arrive there on the appointed day. On their arrival the coffins are placed upon the ground, the mourners crouch down around them, shroud their heads, then weep and wail a long time. When enough tears have been shed, the coffins are placed in the bone-house, and all then take their departure to their respective homes.

After the bone-house has become full in consequence of successive deposits, the tradition says that men are appointed to cover the house all over with earth, which practically makes a burial mound. The Choctaw tradition on this point varies from the statements of William Bartram and the Rev. Israel Folsom, the latter a native Choctaw. Still the tradition may be correct as regards some localities or communities. Bartram states that "when the bone-house became full, the friends and relatives repaired thither, took out the coffins, formed a procession, and with alternate singing and weeping went to a place of general interment, arranged the coffins in the form of a pyramid, and covered them with earth, so as to make a conical hill or mound. The procession then returned to the town and closed the day with a festival called 'the feast of the dead.'" The Rev. Israel Folsom in his manuscript makes a similar statement. He thus writes: "When the bone-houses became full, the bones were all taken out, and carefully arranged to a considerable height, somewhat in the form of a pyramid or cone, and a layer of earth was put over them. This custom, which prevailed among many different tribes, is, no doubt, the origin of the Indian mounds, as they are generally called, which are found in various parts of the country, particularly in the State of Mississippi, formerly the home of the Choctaws." While the writer, by no means, agrees with Mr. Folsom in this being the origin of *all* the mounds, great and small, in Mississippi, still Mr. Folsom is doubtless correct as to its being the origin of the low small burial mounds. Some investigations by the writer, in bygone years, corroborated this statement.

At what time did the bone-picking custom become obsolete? As a result from all the obtainable sources of information, it may be safely stated that the custom fell into disuse in the early years of the nineteenth century. The custom may have lingered longer in some localities than in others. From the pas-

sage quoted above from the Rev. Lorenzo Dow's *Journal*, it seems certain that this custom still prevailed in 1804 among the Six Towns Choctaws. The anonymous author of a little work, published in 1830, entitled *Conversations on the Choctaw Missions*, practically states, on page 211, that the bone-picking custom became obsolete about 1800. Writers describing Choctaw customs subsequent to 1812, make no mention of the bone-picking custom, thus showing that by this time it had passed away. Colonel Claiborne, in his *Life and Times of Sam Dale*, pp. 175-6, has somehow drifted into a strange mistake in stating that the custom still existed in 1832. The Rev. Israel Folsom, in his manuscript, does not give the date of the abolition of the bone-picking custom; but makes the following statement in regard to the new custom: "When the custom of placing the dead upon platforms was abandoned, which met with strong opposition, they buried their dead in a sitting posture in the grave; around the grave they set up half a dozen red poles, about eight feet high, and one about fifteen feet high, at the top of which a white flag was fastened. The occupation of the bone-pickers having been abolished, it then became their business to set up red poles around the graves, and afterwards to remove them at the time of mourning, hence they were called "pole-pullers." They were respected by the people, and far less labor being imposed upon them they were pleased with the change in the burial of the dead." The above statement from Mr. Folsom seems to corroborate the Choctaw tradition that the bone-pickers of the olden-time were not looked upon with much respect. Their office was doubtless considered necessary, but not very elevating.

We pass now from the Choctaws of the early years of the nineteenth century down to the remnant of the same people still living in Mississippi in the last half and in the closing years of the same century. Notwithstanding the seemingly impassive nature of our Mississippi Choctaws, upon the death of a member of the household, the family and relatives often give vent to such a passionate outburst of grief that is almost appalling to a white person unfamiliar with Indian life. The frequent and long-drawn out exclamations of grief uttered by the women, "aiyen-ahéh" and "ikkikkeh," fall upon the ear with a wild and mourn-

ful sound. During these agonizing scenes the sympathizing friends present are sometimes wont to rub the heads of the mourners with horsemint so as to relieve the headache that is so often caused by excessive grief. Meanwhile preparations are made for the burial. This duty is supervised by the two oldest men in the community, officially called "hattak in tikba," which term may be translated "headman." The two iksa are represented in these headmen, one of them belonging to the Kashapa Okla, the other to the Okla in holahta. The two headmen now appoint six men as "pole-planters," each headman appointing three from his own iksa. The pole-planters go to work, make the poles from small pine saplings, stripping off the bark and painting or rather daubing the poles with red clay. Two of the poles are about ten or twelve feet high, the other four about eight. A series of grapevine hoops, which are about two feet in diameter, are fastened to the two tall poles. The hoops are made by coiling the vines around two or more times, so that the body of each hoop is made exactly the same size, and then the coil kept securely in its place by being tied with strings. The hoops are tied, about six inches apart, hard and fast to the pole, at the upper and lower edges of their circumference. The number of the hoops is a matter of no consequence, whether many or few.

Every thing being ready for the burial, all repair to the grave, which is generally made very near the house, sometimes even in the yard. The body, enclosed in a coffin, is lowered into the grave. A few years ago, such articles as the deceased most valued in life were deposited with him in the grave or coffin. A gun was a favorite article deposited in the grave of a man. Beads, gorgets and other female paraphernalia in the grave of a woman. Sometimes, especially in the case of children, a pair of shoes was placed in the coffin. These usages are now entirely abandoned. When the last clods of earth have been cast upon the grave and boards placed over it, the six pole-planters come forward and plant their poles, three being set up by the pole-planters of one iksa on one side of the grave, and three set up by the pole-planters of the opposite iksa on the other side. The two tall poles adorned with hoops are in the center of each side, the hoops being on the sides of the poles farthest from the

grave. The lowest hoop on each pole is about two feet from the ground. To the tops of the tall poles small streamers are fastened, these streamers being generally small strips of white cloth, though occasionally red handkerchiefs are used. The object of these streamers is to show to the passer-by that it is a grave, and he is expected to halt and show his respect for the dead by weeping a while over it. White strings are tied around the tops of the other poles. If the deceased is a male, sometimes a pair of ball sticks is suspended from one of the poles. If, owing to some untoward circumstances, the pole-planters cannot plant their poles at the time of burial, it is expected that they do this work as soon afterwards as possible. Sometimes a child is buried under the house. In such a case, and also in the case of any one dying far from home, a place near the house is selected for the planting of the poles, thus making a kind of cenotaph, where the funeral obsequies are performed. After the pole-planting work is finished, every one on the ground, male and female, assemble around the grave, kneel down, cover their heads, then weep and wail a long time. After indulging in a certain amount of grief, all arise and gradually disperse to their homes.

As a digression, some observations may here be made in regard to the hoops on the two tall poles. The fastening of hoops to the poles fell into disuse about thirty years ago. The Choctaws expressly say that these hoops had no significance whatever. They were simply ornaments to the grave, and were never taken off from the poles. They say that the white man's statement, as recorded in Claiborne's Mississippi, page 489, that these hoops were designed as a ladder for the spirit to ascend at the last cry is simply a fiction created by the white man's fancy, and that no such idea ever existed among the Choctaws. To repeat, the hoops were an ornament, that and nothing else. The statement in Colonel Claiborne's History, relative to this "spirit-ladder" business, must then be taken with many grains of salt; in fact, must not be taken at all. The Choctaws are certainly better judges of this matter than any white man can possibly be. In addition to this, as has already been stated, there was no special number of hoops. The "thirteen—lunar—months" symbolism, as mentioned in Colonel



Claiborne's book, is something that was unknown to the Choc-taws, and had its origin only in the white man's imagination. A reference to another matter in this same connection. There never was any "dancing-the-spirit-home" ceremonies, as likewise recorded on the same page of Colonel Claiborne's History. This is another specimen of the white man's fancy. Farther on in this paper will be given an account of the dances that are danced at the last cry.

Returning from this digression, the cry at the pole-pulling is merely the beginning of the many things that are to be done before the final closing of the funeral ceremonies. The family and the near relatives now go into deep mourning, which the men manifest by letting the hair remain unshorn, and the women by going barefoot, and neither sex wearing any kind of ornaments, such as plumes, silver bands, sashes, gorgets, beads, bracelets, finger rings, earrings, in short, any ornament peculiar to either man or woman. Under all circumstances the mourners preserve a grave and dignified demeanor. They converse in low tones, and the men never even so far forget themselves as to shout at a dog. They indulge in no jests, laughter, revelry or merrymaking of any kind. If approached and asked to participate in a dance, for instance, the invariable response is, "Hihla la hekeyu Tabishi sia hokat." "I cannot dance. I am a mourner." Twice a day, early in the morning and late in the afternoon, they go to the grave, cover their heads, kneel down and weep over it. If a friend comes to see them, they even go oftener, the visitor accompanying them and doing his share of weeping. Etiquette also requires that the visitor himself must always approach the grave and weep a while over it before he enters the house. While the immediate family go, as it were, into conventional mourning by the observances mentioned above, as regards letting the hair grow, going barefoot and wearing no ornaments, this matter is left entirely optional to those of more distant relationship. A first cousin, for instance, can use his own pleasure, whether or not, by following these observances he shall be included in the mourning family.

Meanwhile, the two headmen confer with each other and appoint the most expert hunters out of the two *iksa* to go out into the woods, kill as many deer as they can and barbecue their

flesh for "the last cry," or, as it is called by the Choctaws, "yaiya chito," "the big cry." After a while the mourning family appoint a day for "the little cry," "yaiya iskitini," which, of course, is held at the grave. Quite a company generally go to the little cry. The two headmen are generally present. There are no ceremonies at the little cry. While there the family agree upon the time for the big cry. This is a kind of communal cry, in which the entire town or community participate. The time for this cry is determined by many circumstances, as the state of the weather, the labor of the crops, etc. Sometimes several months elapse between the death and the last cry. As soon as the time is settled upon, the two headmen, just as in the olden time, send around the small bundles of split cane to all the families, far and near, thereby notifying them of the appointed day. To record this matter accurately, the Choctaws gradually ceased to use these sticks some thirty years ago, when they began to become familiar with the white man's division of time into days and weeks. Since that time it is sufficient to notify the parties by merely sending word as to the day and week in which the cry is to take place.

The great day at last arrives. During the afternoon, the Choctaws from far and near begin to make their appearance upon the camping ground, which is generally a hundred yards, more or less, from the grave. As they arrive upon the ground, each one, without greeting anybody, and looking neither to the right nor to the left, walks straight to the grave, there covers his head with a shawl or blanket, kneels down and indulges in the prescribed cry. Having discharged this duty to the dead, he returns to the camping ground, fixes himself and family comfortably in camp, and then holds himself in readiness for the coming events. The two headmen make their camp fires opposite each other, about fifty feet apart. As the afternoon begins to draw to a close, the hunters bring forward their barbecued venison and deposit it on the ground between the camp fires of the headmen. Some families have brought with them for the common feast large kettles full of hominy. These, too, are brought forward and placed on the ground along with the venison. As night begins to close upon the scene, the camp fires are lighted up afresh, and the two headmen hold a consul-

tation. They make an estimate of the numbers of their respective *iksa* present, and proportion the food accordingly. The rigid law of Choctaw etiquette at an Indian cry requires that the two *iksa* must eat separate and distinct from each other. This is a sacred and inviolable law. The venison and hominy are now carried to the various *iksa* groups, as they are scattered around over the ground. No group is neglected. In the distribution of the food, it is customary to give to all the contributors of hominy a small quantity of venison for their private use, which they can carry home with them. This is intended as a remuneration for their contribution of hominy for the public use. When all the venison and hominy have been distributed, each headman delivers an oration to his *iksa*, these orations being the prelude to the coming big feast. The orators are sometimes excessively tedious and prolix, and the hungry auditors become very impatient under their long-winded speeches. The speeches finally come to a close, and without any more ado, the solid work of eating begins. Every Choctaw, male and female, big and little, old and young, mourners and all, now feast to their hearts' content. It is best here to state that the *iksa* separation in public feasting passed away many years ago, the extinction of the deer and other causes having rendered it impracticable. The two *iksa* at a cry nowadays eat promiscuously at one long table, for the table has superseded the old method of eating in groups on the ground. The speeches of the orators prior to the feast, however, still continue to be the fashion. After having regaled themselves to satiety, the crowd scatter over the ground. The men, women and children gather around the various camp fires, and every one passes the time in the best manner to suit himself. It is a very social occasion, and there is very little sleep in the camp that night. The men talk, smoke, chew tobacco, or it may be, some engage in the game of "naki luma," "hidden bullet." The women gossip; whilst the children and the numerous dogs contribute their share to the noise and hilarity of the occasion. After about an hour of general sociability, the young men and the young women assemble at the "ahihla," "the dancing ground," a plot of ground about a hundred yards off, which has been previously prepared for this purpose. Here six different kinds of dances

are danced in succession, which, being very long, take up the greater part of the night. These dances are very complicated and almost incomprehensible to a white person. The first dance is "nakni hihla," "the men's dance," which the men alone dance. This dance over, the young women are now masters of the situation. Each woman selects her own man as her partner for the five coming dances. The man selected cannot back out, but must dance with his partner as long as she chooses to dance, no matter how weary he may become. If the woman herself should finally become weary of dancing, she simply says to her partner, "kil issa," "let us quit," whereupon both withdraw and neither dances any more that night. The second dance is "shatanih hihla," "the tick dance." The third, "nita hihla," "the bear dance." The fourth, "yahyachi hihla," "the trotter's dance." The fifth, "ittisanali hihla," "the dance of those that oppose each other." The sixth, "ittihalanli hihla," "the dance of those that hold each other," which dance, after many evolutions, comes to an end by both sexes standing in two lines facing each other, both hands of the men holding the two first fingers of the women's two hands. Sometimes one of these dances is repeated. It is indispensable that they all be finished before daybreak, for at daybreak there must be a short period—about fifteen or twenty minutes—of quietness in the camp. There is a song sung with every dance, occasionally one of these songs being composed on the spot. On a bright moonlight night these dances with their various evolutions have a wonderful fascination to the on-looking white man. The plumes, the sashes and silver bands of the men, the gaudy dresses, the beads, the gorgets and other silver ornaments of the women, the graceful movements of the dancers, the strange, wild Choctaw songs, all unite to make some of the unique attractions of savage life.

About two hours before day, whilst the dancing of the young people is still under full swing, a short cry is made by the mourners. Some one of them, be it man or woman, sitting by a camp fire, suddenly lifts up his voice in a wailing sound. The other mourners approach him, group themselves around him, cover their heads with their blankets, and for about ten minutes the mourners give vent to cries of wailing and lamentation.

It is now broad daylight. Suddenly the loud voices of the

two headmen are heard telling their people that the time is now at hand for the last cry over the dead. The headmen have already appointed the six pole-pullers, three from each iksa. The pole-pullers may be the same men as the pole-planters, or they may be entirely new appointees. All, men, women and children, now repair to the grave. The two headmen take their stand at the head of the grave. The pole-pullers stand, each one near his pole, three from one iksa on one side of the grave, the other three on the other side. All, except the headmen and the pole-pullers, with covered heads, now kneel upon the ground and for a long time the sound of lamentation and weeping and great mourning goes up to high heaven. The crowd may be very great, so that for some distance around the grave the ground is covered with the kneeling forms of the mourning Indians. Many are the exclamations and expressions of grief, especially from the women. It is an affecting scene; for, even though much of the lamentation on the part of some may be a matter of form, still, with the immediate family, the near kindred and the intimate friends of the dead it is a manifestation of genuine and heartfelt sorrow. After a while, the headman of the iksa opposite to that of the deceased begins his funeral oration, in which he expatiates much upon the virtues of their departed friend. The oration is usually short. When the speaker comes to a close, he and his brother headman lift up their voices and utter what is called "tashka paiya," "the warrior's call," consisting of the four following exclamations: "Yo, hyu, hyu, hyu," to which the pole-pullers respond with "ho-ee, ho-ee, ho-ee, ho-ee," as noticed, "ho-ee" being said four times. The headmen again utter their exclamations just as at first, and again the pole-pullers respond with their exclamations in both cases, the same number as at first. All this is repeated by both parties the third time, and then the fourth and last time. The pole-pullers now perform their office. They take up the poles, bear them erect for some distance, then lower them to a horizontal position and deposit them in a thicket or behind a log. As the pole-pullers start off from the grave nearly all the prostrate crowd arise to their feet, their tears cease to flow, and their wailing comes to an end. The mourning family, however, from a sense of propriety, still remain for some minutes longer weep-

ing over the grave. Finally, they, too, arise and the crowd gradually scatter over the ground. After a while, an old woman of the *iksa* opposite to that of the dead comes forward with a pair of scissors in her hand, and cuts off a single lock of hair from the heads of the women of the mourning family. An old man, likewise of the opposite *iksa*, in the same manner, approaches the males of the mourning family and trims off their long hair. These are the last ceremonies in the funeral obsequies of the Choctaws. The time of mourning has now passed. All now gradually leave the ground. The mourners on their return home can resume their usual dress and ornaments and take up again their free and easy Indian life. The custom of clipping a single lock of hair from the heads of the mourning women and girls still prevails to some extent, but trimming the hair of the men and boys became obsolete about twenty years ago. Strictly speaking, about the same time, the custom of the men's letting their hair remain unshorn and the women going bare-foot during the period of mourning became obsolete. Also, to a great extent, the disuse of ornaments during the mourning season. As stated, the cry over, all return to their homes. There was no breakfast on the ground at the cries of many years ago, but the modern innovation requires that all must leave the funeral ground with a full stomach.

Such is the manner, from beginning to end, in which the Choctaws of Mississippi are wont to perform the funeral obsequies over their dead. But, to be very accurate in these matters, it is best to say that, excepting the barbecued venison feature, the above is a correct description of the Choctaw funeral ceremonies in nearly all the Choctaw communities down to about 1883. Since that year the introduction of Christianity and education has wrought a great revolution in the ideas and usages of the Choctaws. One custom after another has gradually passed out of use. The last pole-pulling that occurred in the Mokalusha clan was in February, 1885. The custom lingered some years longer among the Bogue Chito Indians, but perhaps now has passed out of use everywhere. In some localities poles with streamers attached are still planted around the grave, but there is no pole-pulling. The cry with some of the old ceremonies still prevails to some extent, especially in the non-

Christianized communities, notably among the Bogue Chito Indians, who, of all our Mississippi Indians, most closely resemble the old-time Choctaws. In the Christianized communities there are graveyards near their churches, where they bury their dead, or try to bury them, after the manner of white people. Many Choctaws of the Christianized element are very averse to any usage that, to their view, savors of their old time heathenism. The revolution still goes onward. All the old Choctaw usages, sooner or later, are destined to pass away. And the time will come when, apart from color, speech and some mental Indian characteristics, deeply ingrained by centuries of heredity, there will, perhaps, be but little left that is peculiar to that aboriginal people, who, if we believe their tradition, were actually created by the Great Spirit out of the very soil of Mississippi.







## DANVILLE'S MAP OF EAST MISSISSIPPI.

By H. S. HALBERT.

So far as is known to the writer of this paper, Danville's map, found in Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, page 158, is the most ancient map of East Mississippi. It gives some of the water-courses and Indian towns belonging to Kemper, Lauderdale and Clarke counties, to that extent, at least, carrying back the history of these counties to nearly one hundred and seventy years ago.

This map, while incorrect in a great measure, still has some true features. The river, named Riv 'de l'Ecor noir, is the Sukenatcha, and it ought to have been made to run more to the east, and not so much to the south. It will be seen that the town, Oke-loussa, more correctly called Oka lusa, signifying Black Water, is situated on a tributary of the Riv 'de l'Ecor noir, or to use its present name, Sukenatcha. This tributary and its town have always borne the name Okalusa. The modern Mississippi Choctaws still call the creek by its old aboriginal name, whilst the Americans call it Black Water, its English equivalent. The exact site of Black Water Town, which on the map is laid down on the south side of the creek, is not as yet identified. Like many other Choctaw towns, it was doubtless a straggling collection of houses and small farms, and may have extended for one or more miles up and down Black Water Creek. The Black Water people, at least, at one period during the eighteenth century, do not seem to have borne the best of reputations. Captain Bernard Roman, in his account of his journey down the Tombigbee, states that on the 13th of January, 1772, he came to Batchachooka, the present Tusahoma, where he found "a notorious gang of thieves" that belonged to Black Water Town. The captain strongly intimates that he ran some risk of being plundered by these Black Water marauders. Modern Choctaw tradition confirms the reputation

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given by Captain Roman to these people; for it represents the Black Water warriors as predatory in their habits, often making inroads into the domains of the Muscogeese. According to the district divisions of the Choctaws in the nineteenth century, the Black Water people were in Nittakechi's district. At that time their number seems to have been somewhat reduced, perhaps by removing and uniting with other portions of the Choctaw people, since the census of 1831 gives their entire number as only seventy-eight souls.

Returning to Danville's map, it will be seen that a little west of north of Oke-loussa Town is a town called Ayanabe, situated on a creek of the same name, spelled and pronounced in modern times Yannubbee. The genuine Choctaw spelling is Iyanabi or Yanabi, the name signifying "Iron wood." Yannubbee Town was situated about eight miles southwest of DeKalb, and, as stated, on Yannubbee creek, about two miles above its confluence with Petickfa. The old Decatur and DeKalb road traversed the site of this ancient town.

Yannubbee Town was a place of some celebrity in Choctaw history. According to tradition, at some period in the eighteenth century, a bloody war occurred between the Creek Indians and the Kooncheto Choctaws. Both parties finally becoming weary of the war, at the suggestion of the Creeks, Yannubbee Town, which, it seems was a neutral town, was selected as a place of rendezvous for the two tribes to meet and arrange terms of peace. The Choctaw chief with his warriors on the appointed day arrived in Yannubbee. But the Creeks, perhaps fearing treachery, failed to make their appearance. The Choctaw chief then ordered his warriors to fire their guns upward in the open air, thereby intimating his perfect willingness that the war should close. This action, which no doubt became known to the Creeks, practically made peace between the two tribes.

In the fall of 1811, the Shawnee prophet, Seekaboo, visited Yannubbee Town in the interest of Tecumseh. From several authoritative sources we learn that a small party of Choctaws, about thirty, joined the Creeks in the summer of 1813 and bore arms against the Americans. They were present in the battle

of Calebee Swamp, where several were killed. From Monette's *History of the Valley of the Mississippi*, Vol. II., page 397, it can be seen that these renegades were from Yannubbee Town. These were the only Choctaws that joined the Creeks in their great war against the Americans. It would seem, therefore, a fair conjecture that their action in joining the Creeks must be due to the visit of Seekaboo. The writer has given elsewhere the story of the military execution of these Yannubbee warriors. The after history of Yannubbee Town, which lay in Moshulitubbee's district, is uneventful.

Again returning to the map, we find that northwest of Okeloussa is Oktibea, which, as the name shows, was certainly situated on Oktibbeha creek, which creek the map-maker has failed to lay down. Oktibea, from its situation, was probably Yazoo Town, which was situated on the headwaters of Oktibbeha Creek in Neshoba county, a short distance from the Kemper county line.

Following the trail on Danville's map, which leads southwest from Ayanabe, we come to Concha. This town, from its name and situation, is certainly the old Choctaw town of Kushak bolukta, which means "Round Reed-brake," Kushak, "reed-brake," bolukta, "round." The Choctaws in speaking of this ancient town, often call it Kusha bolukta, omitting the final k of Kushak. O, as o in note, and u, as u in rude, can be used interchangeably in Choctaw, Koshak or Kushak.

There were several towns named Kusha in the Choctaw country, so called because they were built near reed-brakes. In the case of Kusha bolukta, the adjective bolukta was doubtless appended to distinguish it from other Choctaw towns of the same name. Kushak, or Kusha bolukta was situated in the southwestern part of Kemper county, about two miles from the Neshoba and a mile and a half from the Lauderdale county line. The old military road made by Jackson's army passed through this town. Kushak bolukta was in Mo-shu-li-tub-bee's district, but was considered the corner of the three Choctaw districts. The place was named from a large circular reed-brake, about fifty acres in area, situated on the west side of Oktibbeha Creek. This reed-brake is now embraced in the farms of B. F. King and

W. F. Vance. The town enveloped the reed-brake on the north-west, west and southwest.

Not only does an interest attach to these towns, whose names are recorded on Danville's map, but even the trail leading from Concha to Ayanabe has a significance in Choctaw history. Among the southern Indians, boundary lines between tribes and divisions of tribes were water courses, water sheds or "divides" between water courses, and occasionally a well-known trail. In the nineteenth century, the Kushak bolukta and Yannubbee Town trail, from Kushak bolukta to where it strikes the divide between Yannubbee Creek and the Chickasahay waters, a distance of eight or ten miles, was a part of the boundary line separating the districts of Nittakechi and Moshulitubbee (Amoshulitabi). This trail was, no doubt, of as great an antiquity as the two towns which it connected.

Leaving these Kemper county towns and going to the southwest we come to the river, named Son-la-houe on Danville's map. This stream, which is the Chickasahay, is laid too far to the west. As to the name, Son-la-houe, there is a large western tributary of the Chickasahay in Jasper and Clarke counties, called by the Americans Sooenlovie, which is a corruption of the Choctaw Hasunlawi, the name by which the stream is still called by the Mississippi Choctaws. Now the writer feels sure that Son-la-houe is nothing more nor less than a corrupt French spelling and pronunciation of Hasunlawi. In ancient times this may have been the name of the Chickasahay proper, as we see it on Danville's map, and finally the name may have been restricted or transferred to its tributary, the main stream then receiving its present name from the Chickasahay Choctaws. The writer has been informed by several Six Towns Indians that Hasunlawi is a corruption of Yasunlabi, which means "leech-killer." Yasunla, "leech," abi, "to kill." Yasunla is a dialectic Six Towns word, corresponding to yalus, the word used by Choctaws in other localities for leech.

Tchikachae on Danville's map is Chickasahay Town, which is often mentioned by eighteenth century writers. According to tradition, this town stood on the east side of Chickasahay River, about three miles below the present town of Enterprise.

On the same side of the Chickasahay, three miles below Shu-

buta, stood the old Indian town Haiowanni, Yowanni or Youane, as spelled on Danville's map. The name is spelled in various ways. The Rev. Allen Wright in his Choctaw dictionary defines it "the cut-worm, the caterpillar." This town is often mentioned by Adair and other contemporary writers. It seems that at one time during the eighteenth century the Yowanni people were included among the Six Towns people, and the entire district was then sometimes called Seven Towns. In 1830, and for an unknown period of time prior thereto, Yowanni embraced all the territory lying on both sides of Eucuttie Creek; in short, all the territory extending from Pachuta Creek on the north to the Choctaw boundary on the south. The Yowanni western boundary was the eastern water-shed or dividing ridge of Bogue Homa, which ridge separated the Yowanni from the Nashwaiya people. The extent of the Yowanni territory to the east of the Chickasahay cannot now be known. It was perhaps in 1764 that a band of the Yowannis separated from the main clan, emigrated to Louisiana and united with the Caddoes, forming the Yowanni band in the Caddo tribe, an organization existing to the present day. All the remaining Yowanni Choctaws living in their ancient territory emigrated in 1832, in the second emigration, except two families, Aiiskambi's and Nukchintabi's, whose descendants still live in Mississippi.

As will be seen from the evidence presented in this paper, at least four Choctaw towns, Yannubee, Kusha bolukta, Chickasahay and Yowanni, occupied the same sites in 1732 as they did in 1832, showing a full century's continuity of historic existence. How long they may have existed prior to 1732 can never be known. It was by long and persistent inquiries among Choctaws best informed on their old traditions that the writer was enabled to identify these ancient town-sites. Perhaps future research may give some one the location of the other towns recorded on Danville's map.



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